Afroasiatic Linguistics

A Comparative Approach to the Amharic Lexicon

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AAL 5/2 — Appleyard

MONOGRAPHIC JOURNALS OF THE NEAR EAST

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A glance at the morphology of Amharic does not reveal much that
is not plainly of Semitic origin, or that cannot be readily ex-
plained in Semitic terms. The lexicon, however, has given some
casual observers quite a different impression. A close examin-
ation of the lexicon, as here of certain semantic fields chosen
in particular to give a fairly wide cover of vocabulary levels,
"basic" and "non-basic," does, however, reveal a fairly high
proportion of inherited Semitic material. The borrowed element
of the vocabulary is shown to derive principally from two gen-
eral sources: i) other Semitic languages, especially Arabic;
ii) Cushitic languages, especially Agaw and East Cushitic (Galla,
Sidamo, Saho-Afar, Somali, etc.).

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[1]The text of this paper forms part of a thesis titled "The Semitic Basis of the Amharic

0. INTRODUCTION

The Ethiopian language area is particularly interesting within the Afroasiatic field, comprising as it does, amongst others, representatives of three of the language families normally included under the term Afroasiatic: Semitic, Cushitic, and Omotic. Moreover, what is especially interesting to the historical linguist, and what will in part concern us in this paper, is the long period of contact and interaction between at least two of these language groups, (Ethiopian) Semitic and Cushitic. The length of this period of contact, based upon the assumption that Semitic speech was introduced into Ethiopia from the other side of the Red Sea at a broadly identifiable date, must ostensibly be around two millennia and is almost certainly somewhat longer. It should, of course, be pointed out here that Ethiopian Semitic and Cushitic, or certain subgroups thereof, are not likely to have been the only language groups to have influenced one another within the Ethiopian language area. In speaking about Ethiopian Semitic-Cushitic contacts I am being deliberately vague at this stage of the study; Cushitic is not, of course, a single unit, nor even a completely and satisfactorily defined one as yet. However, the results of this study of the lexicon reveal that in examining the history of the Amharic vocabulary we have to deal principally with two branches only of Cushitic: Central Cushitic, or Agaw, and to a lesser degree East Cushitic, both Highland (Burji-Sidamo) and Lowland (Saho-Afar, Oromo, Somali, etc.). Moreover, as the title of this paper indicates, we are concerned only with the Amharic vocabulary, not with other Ethiopian Semitic languages, whose lexical histories must necessarily be different from that of Amharic.

In this study I shall deal with certain selected areas of the lexicon in accordance with
the concept of semantic field. In each section a separate semantic field will be discussed
first as a whole, from the point of view of the respective statistics of inherited Semitic
and loan items and any extra-linguistic inferences that may be drawn therefrom, and secondly
with regard to the individual items representing each field, which will be examined in some
detail, providing an approach, at least, to an etymological treatment of parts of the
Amharic lexicon.

The notion of semantic field, like much of semantics, lacks the precision of definition of
the levels of functional linguistics. A semantic field may be broadly defined as a con-
ceptual sphere. The individual lexical items which can be grouped under a given semantic
field will, however, differ from language area to language area. To this extent a semantic
field is not as readily or as clearly definable as the functional units of language. Never-
theless, the concept is a useful and valid one in a study of this kind. Certain areas of
the lexicon are bound to be more vulnerable to borrowing and innovation than others, as
they reflect the cultural sensitivity of their referents. It is precisely for this reason
that the division of the lexicon into semantic fields and the comparison of the retention
rate statistics of each field have such value here. A comparative analysis of phonology and
morphology may reveal a genetic position of the language and its position vis-à-vis cognate
languages, but a comparative lexical study can provide not only finer details of linguistic
connections and contacts, but also indications of extra-linguistic factors. It is, however,
advisable to add a word of caution here. One should hesitate to draw sweeping historical
or cultural conclusions from the history of an isolated item. It would, for example, be
linguistically naïve to conclude anything regarding the domestication and keeping of goats
amongst the Amhara from the fact that the Amharic term for this animal, ṭǝyäl, is of non-
Semitic origin. It is rather the overall picture in each semantic field that should be
examined in this way.

The semantic fields for this study were chosen in order to provide a reasonably wide spectrum
of culturally "specific" and "non-specific" vocabulary.[2] Five fairly wide fields were
selected: (1) "man," (2) "the domestic environment," (3) "the natural environment," (4)
"social organization,"[3] and (5) "grammatical items," a "field" closely involved with morph-
ology, encompassing pronouns, numerals, and particles. This last "field" has been included
to provide a lexical link with morphological analyses such as Hetzron's (1972). Each of
these broad fields is then further subdivided into more specific sections; for example, the
semantic field "man" has three subdivisions, (1.1) general, (1.2) kinship terms, and (1.3)
parts of the body. The first four broad semantic fields range from what could be expected
to be a conservative area of the lexicon ("man") to the areas of social organization and
domestic environment, more sensitive to borrowing and innovation. The field of natural en-
vironment has been included because it is in part delimited and defined by the particular
geographical and ecological context in which the language is spoken. The latter is a par-
ticularly important consideration when one approaches the question of Semitic origins within
Ethiopia. The more "conservative" fields may be assumed to give an indication of the
maximal retention of inherited Semitic lexical stock, whilst the more innovatory fields
will be especially valuable in providing clues to cultural influences and pressures exerted
from outside the language community. Thus, the inherited Semitic and loanword composition
of these areas of the lexicon can be an important guide to extra-linguistic developments in
the Amharic language area. For example, it comes as no surprise that much of the specific
flora and fauna vocabulary of Amharic is of non-Semitic, Cushitic origin (see below, under
2.2). On the other hand, the influence of Arabic is strongly felt in the fields of commerce
and warfare (see below, under 4).

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[2]For a definition and discussion of these terms see Hymes (1960:4-5).

[3]The inspiration for this kind of treatment of the lexicon is derived chiefly from Fronzaroli
et sec.

An important theoretical concept throughout this discussion, which ought to be briefly explained here, is the notion of "basic" vocabulary. The concept of vocabulary as polarized into two groups, "cultural" and "non-cultural," or "basic" and "non-basic," is by no means a new idea. At one end of the scale are items whose referents are considered to be nearly universal and most resistant to innovation and replacement. At the other end are those whose referents are specific to the cultural environment and which are, therefore, susceptible to innovation and replacement in accordance with developments in the society in which the language is spoken. The recognition of different levels of the lexicon subject to different rates of change has led to the composition of "basic" word-lists. Whatever the merit or otherwise of the glottochronological application of this notion of "basic" vocabulary is, the recognition of these two broadly identifiable poles of the lexicon cannot, I believe, be seriously objected to. The individual lexical constituents of "basic" vocabulary necessarily differ from one language area to another. Rather than define individual lexical items as "basic," it would seem more advisable to deal only with semantic fields at this level. These are less specific than individual items and are more applicable to the notion of universality, upon which the concept of "basic" vocabulary is partly built, and it is this contention that lies behind the choice of semantic fields used in this discussion. Thus, one might reasonably expect to include kinship terms, names of parts of the body and certain natural phenomena, though not necessarily individual items from these fields, amongst "basic" vocabulary. Specific plant or animal names, many social terms, and so on are, on the other hand, "non-basic." Throughout the discussions that follow I shall use this concept of "basic" vocabulary in dealing with inherited Semitic and loanword proportions from one semantic field to another.

I have already suggested above that the distribution of specific lexical items, whether of inherited Semitic origin or not, can provide valuable insight into areas outside the immediate scope of the description of the lexicon itself. Thus, we may reasonably look to lexical evidence to relate to the classification and interaction of the various Ethiopian Semitic languages amongst themselves. Whilst lexical isoglosses might not necessarily be indicative of genetic groupings, they may often provide tangible clues to former geographical contiguity, at least. Lexical criteria are, of course, not the first or the principal means that should be used in classification work, precisely because of the vulnerability of the lexicon to change and outside influence. Nevertheless, a few important lexical isoglosses can be found which broadly seem to coincide with those established on morphological evidence, i.e. those drawn up by Hetzron (1972). Perhaps the most interesting of these concern the North-South Ethiopian split. Most prominent amongst these are those instances where S. Ethiopian as a whole has preserved a Semitic root absent from N. Ethiopian: exx. *wzᶜ (Amh. wäzza) 'sweat', *ᶜᶘʌ (Amh. aᶘär) 'dust', *ḥbb (Amh. əbab) 'snake', *tℓᶜ (Amh. təℓ) 'worm', *mty (Amh. mäčče) 'when', *ᶘ-t (Amh. ᶘit) 'face'. There are also instances where S. Ethiopian as a whole shares a different root patterning or development from N. Ethiopian: exx. ḥamat as masculine 'father-in-law' with a re-formation *ḥamati as its feminine counterpart (N. Eth. ham(u), ḥamat); *məᶘ 'husband' and *məᶘit 'wife' as against N. Eth. bəᵓᶘi and bəᵓᶘit; *kʷəℓali- 'kidney' as against N. Eth. kʷəℓit (Gz.Tna.), kəℓkəℓᵓot (Te.); *kəℓᵓe + a 'twenty' as against N. Eth. ᶜəᶘra, ᶜəᶘra, formed on the common root kℓᵓ 'two'; S. Eth. *däbʌ 'forest' but N. Eth. däbʌ 'mountain'; S. Eth. käniᶜ 'right' from the Eth.Sem. root knᶜ 'be straight', but N. Eth. yäman (Gz.Tna.), man (Te.); S. Eth. *ᶘᶘy 'grind' but N. Eth. ᶘᶘḥ. In addition to these Semitic roots and patterns common to S. Ethiopian only, there is a small number of non-Semitic loan items which occur throughout S. Ethiopian but not in N. Ethiopian: *zəᵓäḥt + äñ (Amh. zäṭäñ) 'nine', *ᶘ/ṭärä/aka (Amh. čäräka) 'moon',[4] gʷəℓbät 'knee',[5] kuʌ-a 'crow',

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[4] The inherited Semitic item is preserved throughout S. Ethiopian in the restricted sense of 'month': Amh. wäʌ.

[5] This item does, in fact, occur in Tigrinya, but with the sense of 'strength', which is within the semantic range of many of the S. Ethiopian terms, including Amh. gulbät; the Tigrinya item is probably, therefore, an amharicism.

ảarnäbät (Amh. *andäbät*) 'tongue', **ś/ṭəgg-* 'calf'. In each of these cases, with the probable exception of 'crow',[6] N. Ethiopian preserves the inherited Semitic root. Of course, none of these in itself is necessarily proof of a genetic division between North and South Ethiopian, but they are interesting and, indeed, relevant in the light of the morphological isoglosses distinguishing the three northern languages from the rest of Ethiopian Semitic. The geographical contiguity, at the present or in former times, of the languages concerned could explain several of these examples, particularly the common non-Semitic items.

Within S. Ethiopian there are several lexical isoglosses connecting Amharic with other members of Transversal South Ethiopic (see Hetzron (1972:36)), i.e. Amharic, Argobba, Harari, and East Gurage. Often Gafat, and sometimes other Gurage languages, especially Soddo, are included in these isoglosses. Gafat, etc., does not belong to the same sub-group of S. Ethiopian as Amharic, but has for a long period been contiguous with Amharic and under its influence. Examples of these locally restricted items, including non-Semitic terms, are *akəst* 'aunt' (Amh.Arg.Har.Gaf.), *čən* 'thigh' (Amh.Arg.Har.Sl.Wl.Z.Gaf. Sod.), *riz* 'beard' (Amh.Arg.Har.Gaf.Wl.Ch.), *ge* 'country,place,town' (Amh.Arg.Har.Sl.Wl. Z.Gaf.Sod.), *zaɟ* 'tree' (Amh.Arg.Har.Gaf.), *wəšša* 'dog' (Amh.Arg.Gaf.Sod.), *əɟɟuñit* 'viper' (Amh.Har.Sl.Wl.Z.).

Finally, in this connection, it should be mentioned that Amharic, occasionally together with other contiguous S. Ethiopian languages, often shares a lexical isogloss with Tigrinya, thereby cutting across alleged genetic boundaries. This is particularly prevalent in the semantic field of social organization, a likely explanation for which is not hard to find. Speakers of Amharic and Tigrinya are the direct inheritors of the Ge'ez-Axumite cultural tradition and consequently have long shared in their cultural development. This is to some extent refelcted in specifically "cultural" vocabulary. Aside from terms inherited directly from Ge'ez, Amharic and Tigrinya share the following social terms: *aläqa* : *haläxa* 'head, superior', *dañña* 'judge', *geta* : *gʷäyta* 'lord', *goräbet* : *gʷäräbet* 'neighbour', *kätäma* 'town', *šäɟɟätä* 'revolt', *dəha* : *dɔxa* 'poor', *wättaddär* : *wättəhaddär* 'soldier', *däbtära* in the sense of 'cantor, lay priest'.[7] Some of these might simply be loans from Amharic into Tigrinya, as, for example, the form of *dañña* suggests. Others could equally well be common developments. Examples from other semantic fields where Amharic and Tigrinya share a common form, loan or development of an inherited root, are: *set* : *säbäyti* 'woman', *ənnat* : *ʾənno* 'mother', *dänkoro* : *dänkʷäro* 'deaf', *gəra* : *gəraw* 'left (handed)', *mälas* : *mälhas* 'tongue', *ənkulal* : *ʾənkulalih* 'egg' beside *ʾənkokho*, etc. (Tna. also has *ʾənkʷaxʷəho*), *čohä* : *čoxä* 'shout' *dängəya* : *dängʷälla* 'stone, rock', *gən* : *gəʾən ~ gən* 'but'. Some of these occur throughout S. Ethiopian or in some other S. Ethiopian languages besides Amharic, but are all found only in Tigrinya among N. Ethiopian.

The receptiveness of the lexicon to change and outside influence, more perhaps than any other level of linguistic analysis, means that this kind of lexical isogloss cannot be employed alone in language classification. The importance of these isoglosses lies in outlining geographical and/or cultural language areas, as demonstrated, for example, by the Tigrinya-Amharic or Amharic-Gurage isoglosses. Only in the case of those Semitic root isoglosses distinguishing S. Ethiopian from N. Ethiopian does it appear that lexical evidence can be directly correlated with morphologically established groups. The few examples relevant to the case of Transversal South Ethiopic are obscured by contacts with other S. Ethiopian languages like Gafat and Soddo. Lexical evidence for subgroups not involving Amharic has not been studied here.

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[6]Gz. *ḳʷaʿ*, Tna. *kʷax*, Te. *ḳəwaʿ* have close formal cognates in some of the Agaw languages.

[7]Gz. *däbtära* means 'tabernacle' and is thus closer to the sense of the original Gk. *diphthérai*.

Each of the five semantic field sections will begin with a discussion on the overall field arising from the details of individual lexical items that follow. This discussion will take the form of the statistics of inherited as against borrowed items, any structural patterns that can be identified, any extra-linguistic observations that can be made, and so on. This will be followed in each section by a more detailed etymological treatment of the individual lexical items involved. Only in a closed set like kinship terms, numerals, or parts of the body can the list of items be anything like complete. Elsewhere the list of items is intended to be no more than representative of the semantic field. For this purpose, therefore, only the most "obvious" items were chosen. Those items with some particularly relevant or interesting contribution to the history of the language are discussed in full. Other more straightforward items need only be labelled as inherited Semitic, Cushitic, or whatever.

1. THE SEMANTIC FIELD "MAN"

The three subdivisions grouped under this heading are 1.1 general terms, 1.2 kinship terms, and 1.3 parts of the body. In the case of kinship terms, we are dealing with a relatively small set of items which is closely structured and in which all members are interrelated in a system, such that the loss or replacement of one item in that system may affect the whole. For example, the terms *aggot* 'uncle' and *akəst* 'aunt', both of non-Semitic origin, do not replace single lexemes, but phrases in common Ethiopian Semitic, as Gz. *ʾəḫʷä ʾəmm* 'mother's brother', *ʾəḫtä ʾab* 'father's sister', etc. It is, incidentally, interesting to note here that a similar restructuring also occurs amongst the numerals, where Amh. *ši* 'thousand', probably of Agaw origin, replaces the phrase 'ten hundred', as Gz. *ʿašärtu məʾt*.

An interesting morphological feature of kinship terms in Amharic, as a system, is the suffix -*at*, common to several items: *abbat* 'father', *ənnat* 'mother', *ayat* 'grandparent'; in *amat* ~ *amač* and *məhat*, however, the suffix -*at* is of a different origin, being originally a feminine formative. This suffix -*at* is most likely related to the external plural formative -*at*, occurring in Ge'ez, Tigrinya, and Tigre, and in Amharic as -*ačč*- in certain plural pronouns. Possible support for this view that -*at* in certain kinship terms is identical with the plural formative occurs in other S. Ethiopian items like Sl.Wl. *abot* 'father', Ch. *adot* 'mother', Har. *indoč* 'woman', Sl.Wl. *əndač* 'woman', all of which contain a suffix clearly connected with the plural formative **-at(i) ~ -ot(i)*, though used on singular nouns. These suffixes have lost their plural connotation in these items and the ordinary plural formative is added as on any other noun: Amh. *abbatoč*, *ənnatoč*, *ayatoč*, etc. It can only be conjectured why an (originally) plural formative became attached to these items, but the most likely explanation would seem to be that the plural was employed as a kind of honorific, as is still the case in the "polite" forms in Amharic. Furthermore, the simple items *ʾab* and *ʾəmm* acquired specifically theological connotations and, therefore, formally differentiated items might have been felt necessary in the purely kinship sense.

Of the 17 items discussed under the heading "kinship," all but three are of Semitic origin. A possible explanation why two of these non-Semitic terms, *aggot* and *akəst*, might have been taken over has already been suggested. In the instance of the third non-Semitic item, *ənnat* 'mother', it is interesting to note that Amharic is not the only Ethiopian Semitic language that has a non-Semitic term for 'mother'.[8]

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[8]For a detailed discussion on this and all other items in the preliminary sections to each semantic field see the individual analyses that follow.

Amongst terms for parts of the body there is a somewhat higher percentage of non-Semitic items--26.6% (16 items out of a total of 60 studied). Amongst the Semitic items are pre-served most of the common Semitic terms (see Fronzaroli (1964b:18ff and 262ff)): *af* 'mouth', *afənča* 'nose', *aṭənt* 'bone', *ayn* 'eye', *əǧ* 'hand', *däm* 'blood', *fit* 'face', *guräho* 'throat', *hod* 'belly', *kulalit* 'kidney', *ləbb* 'heart', *mälas* 'tongue', *ras* 'head', *šəbät* 'grey hair', *šil* 'foetus', *šənt* 'urine', *ṭəfər* 'nail', *ṭat* 'finger', and so on.

Of those items of non-Semitic origin *ənbərt* 'navel' and *ṭägur* 'hair' are particularly wide-spread throughout Ethiopian Semitic, both North and South. Common to S. Ethiopian only are *andäbät* 'tongue', *čamma* 'shoe, sole of the foot', *gulbät* knee',[9] *gunč* 'cheek', *riz* 'beard'. The only item of demonstrably Cushitic origin, besides *ənbərt* and *ṭägur*, which has a cog-nate in Ge'ez as well as in modern Ethiopian Semitic is *samba* 'lung'.

I do not think it would be very valid to try and draw any specific extra-linguistic conclu-sions from the relatively high percentage of non-Semitic items in the field of parts of the body. If the concept and implications of "basic" vocabulary are accepted, then the occurrence of so many original loans in this particular field can be taken to reflect the long and intimate symbiosis between Amharic (and Ethiopian Semitic) and Cushitic languages in the Ethiopian language area. The non-Semitic terms here are for the most part attributa-ble to specific Cushitic languages or language groups, but a small number cannot be readily so defined. Such items, several of which occur throughout the lexicon, are clearly Cushitic in so far as, whilst lacking satisfactory Semitic cognates outside the Ethiopian area, they have acceptable cognates in more than one Cushitic language group. Their shape, however, is not immediately relatable to one Cushitic group more than others, or is sufficiently divergent from any of the modern Cushitic forms as to prohibit identification with any particular one.

1.1. GENERAL TERMS

aroge 'old man'   :   Gz. *ʾarägawi* ~ *ʾarägay*, Tna. *ʾarägit*,[10] Har. *rāga*, Old. Amh. *aräge* (Cohen M. (1939:44); Ludolf (1968:57) also has *aräge*).

Several Ethiopian Semitic languages, including Amharic, also have a corresponding verb: Gz. Tna. *ʾarägä*, Amh.Arg. *aräggä*, Sl.Wl. *räge*. The S. Ethiopian verbal forms are probably de-nominatives, which would explain the palatalization g > ǧ from the *y* of the noun suffix taken as final radical. The underlying form of the root is *ʾrg*, as appears in the N. Ethio-pian verb forms. Brockelmann (1928:49) connected this *ʾrg* with Sem. *ʾrk* 'be long', but this would seem doubtful. On the other hand, Cerulli (1936:28) suggests a derivation from Cushitic, cf. Som. *raag* 'remain, be late', Saho-Afar *raaᶜ* 'endure'. It is not, of course, inconceivable that we are dealing with the confusion or the influence of the Semitic and the (East) Cushitic root here in Ethiopian Semitic.

ənnəst 'female'   :   Gz. *ʾanəst*, Tna. *ʾanəstäyti*, Te. *ʾəssit*, Arg. *ənəšča*, Har. *ənəsti*, Gaf. *ansətä*, Ch.Gy. *arəst*, Sl.Z. *ənnəst*, Enn. *äst*, End. *ast*, etc.

Common Semitic *ʾnt* (Ar. *ʾunta*, Heb. *ʾiššā*, etc.).

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[9]Tna. *gulbät* is probably due to Amharic influence; the Tna. term for 'knee', *bərki*, is inherited Semitic.

[10]Feminine in form, but both masculine and feminine in meaning.

sεt 'woman'   : Tna. *sǎbǎyti*. A feminine derivative of *sǎb ᵓ* 'man' (see the
                                          following item).

Amharic and Tigrinya appear to be the only Ethiopian Semitic languages which employ a
feminine form of *sǎb ᵓ* for 'woman'. Most of the other languages use a derivative of the
root *ᵓns-t* (see *ənnəst*, above), or *b ᵓs-t* (see *mist*, below).

sǎw 'man'   : Gz. *sǎb ᵓ*, Tna. *sǎb ᵓay* (pl. *sǎb*), Te. *sǎb* 'people', Arg. *su*,
                                          Har. *usu ᵓ*, Gaf. *sǎwwǎ*, Ch. *sǎb*, etc.

An interesting speculation in whether Eth. *sǎb ᵓ* might be connected with the South Arabian
common noun *sb ᵓ* 'warrior' and the ethnic name *sb ᵓ* 'Saba ᵓ'.

wǎnd 'male'   : Gz. *wǎld* 'son', Tna. *wǎddi*, Te. *wǎd*, Arg. *wǎnd*, Har. *wǎldi*.

Argobba and Amharic share this unique instance of the apparent development *ld > nd*. However,
in line with the not infrequent occurrence of an "intrusive" nasal throughout S. Ethiopian,
it is probable that the immediate precursor of *wǎnd* could have been something akin to Tna.
wǎddi and Te. *wǎd(d)*, i.e. *ᵂwǎdd*, deriving from *wǎld* by total assimilation of the *l* to the
d. The root is common Semitic *wld* 'beget', which provides simple nominal derivations of
the meaning 'son, boy, child', etc., throughout Semitic.

1.2. KINSHIP TERMS

abbat 'father'   : Gz.Te. *ᵓab*, Tna. *ᵓab ~ ᵓabbo*, Arg. *aw*, Har. *āw*, Gaf. *ab ᵂǎ*,
                                          Ch. *aba*, etc.

This is immediately identifiable with the common Semitic *ᵓb*, but it should be noted that a
similar root occurs in various Cushitic languages: Bil. *abba*, Kem. *aba*, Galla *abba*, Som.
aabbe, etc.

aččǎ 'betroth'   : Gz. *ḥazǎyǎ* 'share, give a bride gift', Tna. *ḥasǎyǎ*, Te.
                                          ḥassa, Gaf. *ačǎ* 'marry'.
Semitic, cf. Ar. *ḥassa* 'fall as a share', Heb. *ḥāsā* 'share, divide'.

agǎbba 'marry'   : Gaf. *atgibbǎ*, Ch. *agǎpam*.
Literally 'bring in'; the root Eth. *gb ᵓ* 'enter' occurs throughout Ethiopian Semitic and in
Ar. *ǧaba ᵓa*, ESA *gb ᵓ*.

aggot 'uncle'   : Tna. *ᵓakko*, Har. *kāka*.
This is of Cushitic origin; for the Amharic item cf. Bil. *ᵓǎg*, Kem. *ag*, Khm. *ig*. For the
Tigrinya and Harari items a slightly better formal cognate occurs in Galla *akko* 'grandmother',
Sid. *akāko* 'old'. Amharic makes no distinction between maternal and paternal relation-
ships, as are made elsewhere in Ethiopian Semitic: Te. *ḥal* : *ᵓab(u)*, Har. *kāka* : *izēr*, Gaf.
ǎmm ᵂǎyǎ : *əstabb ᵂǎ*, S.Arg. *abo-* : *ami-*.

akəst 'aunt'   : S.Arg. *akista*, Har. *əxista*, Gaf. *akkəst*.
Reinisch's derivation (1887(I):19) from something along the lines of Khm. *ig zin* 'uncle's
sister' is not totally convincing. It seems probable that this item should in some way
be related to a similar root as that underlying the term for 'uncle'; in this connection
note also Gimira *akes* 'grandparent'. Again Amharic makes no distinction between maternal
and paternal relationships, but cf. Tna. *ḥatənno* : *ᵓammo*, Har. *əxista* : *anna*, Gaf. *akkəst* :

ästim"itä, and so on. Note that in the three Eth.Sem. languages that do have cognates to Amh. akəst, the term is restricted to the sense of maternal aunt.

amat ~ amač[11]

: Gz.Te. ḥamat 'mother-in-law', Tna. ḥamat 'mother/daughter-in-law', Har. ḥamāt 'mother-in-law', ḥamāči 'father-in-law', Arg. ḥamač 'father-in-law', Ch. amat 'mother-in-law', amakᵃ̃ 'father-in-law', Ms.Sod.W. amač 'father-in-law', Z. amačči, etc.

The form amat occurs throughout the rest of Gurage with the meaning 'mother-in-law', except in End. which has awät. The S. Ethiopian forms for 'father-in-law' suggest a reconstructed common form *ḥamati beside 'mother-in-law' ḥamat. This differentiation is secondary and peculiar to S. Ethiopian, whilst N. Ethiopian shows the common Semitic pattern, as in Gz. ḥam : ḥamat. Of the S. Ethiopian languages Gafat stands alone in preserving the simple form of the root: am"ä.

ayat 'grandparent'

A possible derivation of this item, which appears to have no formal cognates elsewhere in Eth.Sem., is from ʿabiyy Gz. 'great' + the suffix -at discussed above. A similar semantic development can be observed in Tna. ʾaddä ʿabbay 'grandmother', lit. 'great mother', and perhaps in Te. ʾabᶜəb 'grandfather', in which -ᶜəb might derive from the root ᶜby. Note also Khm. xäy ábba 'grandfather' and xäy əŋä 'grandmother', where xäy is the adjective 'great'. Amongst the other Ethiopian Semitic languages a composite form is used: Gaf. yab"ä ab"ä, Tna. ʾabbo ḥaggo. A sex distinction is made in some languages: Arg. baba : imahal, Har. bāb : umma, Gaf. yab"ä ab"ä : əm"itäta. In connection with this last item note also Gondare Amh. əmmita 'grandparent' and əm(m)it 'great-grandparent'.

ənnat 'mother'

: Tna. ʾənno, Har. ináy 'lady, matron'.

Praetorius (1879:59,43) derived this from Gz. ʾəmm and hence common Semitic ʾm. Whilst the development m > n is not unknown in Ethiopian Semitic, the typical environment for such a change immediately before a dental is absent here. Rather, I believe this should be derived from a non-Semitic source, e.g. Saho-Afar inā 'mother', Khm. əŋä. Semitic ʾm is preserved elsewhere in Eth.Sem.: Gz. ʾəmm, Te. ʾəm, Arg. əm, Gaf. əm"it, and in Amh. əmmäbet 'mistress', wändəm(m) 'brother', and the vocatives əmma ~ ənamma ~ əmmaye. Other modern Eth.Sem. languages also have probable non-Semitic items for 'mother': Tna. ʾaddä, Ch. adot, Enn.End. adod, Sl.Wl. əndät, to which such forms as Borana Galla hāāda, Benadir Som. hindo, Kaffa indo, etc., may be compared.

ət 'sister'

: Gz. ʾəḫt, Tna. ḥawti,[12] Te. ḥət, Arg. əḥəd, Har. əḥit, Old Amh. hət.

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[11]The dictionaries (Guidi, 1901; Baeteman, 1929; Gankin, 1969) show a range of overlapping meanings: amat 'mother/brother/son/daughter-in-law'; amač 'father/brother/sister/daughter-in-law'. See Tubiana (1951-4:51): "la confusion peut s'expliquer par l'occurrence de deux formes, l'une guèze ḥamat (devenue normalement amat en amharique) 'belle-mère'; 'bru' (Dillm. 77), l'autre amh. amač, connue déjà de Dillm. comme 'child or parent-in-law'."

[12]A secondary development from masc. ḥaw.

The alternative modern Amharic form *əhət* is, I believe, more likely to be due to the influence of Ge'ez than a directly inherited form, as the perservation of the laryngal into modern Amharic would be highly irregular. The root is common Semitic *ʾḫ* 'brother', *ʾḫ-t* 'sister'.

bal 'husband'   :   Gz.Tna.Te. *bäʿal* 'master, husband', Gaf. *bal*. Common Semitic *bʿl*.

The other Eth.Sem. languages use the same item as 'man': Tna. *säbʾay*, Gz. *bəʾsi*, *mət*, Te. *bəʾəs*, or 'lord' as Har. *aboč*. Some of the S.Eth. languages have a special term, Ch. *məs*, Arg. *mis*, a masculine counterpart of Amh. *mist* (see below).

ləǧ 'child'   :   Gz. *ləd* in the phrase *lədä bet* 'slave born into a household (Gk. *oikogenês*)', Har. *liǧi*, Sl.Wl.Arg. *ləǧ*, Ch. *ärč*, M. *yəǧ*, Enn.End. *äč*, E.Ms. *ärəg*.

This is a primary nominal derivative of the common Semitic root *wld* 'beget'; for this particular pattern with this sense note especially Akk. *līdu* 'bastard'. Sex distinction is made in Amharic by compounding with *wänd* 'male' or *set* 'female', but several of the other Eth.Sem. languages have separate lexemes: Har. *liǧi* : *ḳahat*, Ch. *ärč* : *gäräd*, Tna. *wäddi* : *gʷal*, Gz. *wäld* : *wälätt*. A feminine derivative of *ləǧ* does exist in Amharic and is recorded already by Ludolf: *ləǧit ~ ləǧət*, but it appears to be not so common in modern Amharic as the compound *set ləǧ*.

mərat 'sister/daughter-in-law' : Gz. *märʿat* 'sister-in-law', Tna.Te. *märʿat* 'bride'.

The root is *rʿw* to which Ar. *urʿūwa* 'yoke of oxen', Heb. *reʿā* 'friend', *rāʿā* 'join, befriend' may be compared.

mist ~ məšt 'wife'   :   Har. *mišti*, Arg.Z. *məst*, M.Ch.Sod. *məšt*.

N.Eth. cognates have initial *b-*: Gz. *bəʾsit* 'woman'. Among the S.Eth. languages, Harari, Argoba, Čäha, and most (all?) Gurage languages have corresponding masculine forms: Har. *miš* 'fellow', Arg. *mis* 'husband', Ch. *məs*, to which Gz. *bəʾsi* 'man' and Te. *bəʾəs* 'husband' may be compared. Cohen (1939:421) suggests interference with an item such as Gz. *mət* 'husband' to account for the *b* : *m* alternation between North and South Ethiopian. However, sporadic instances of a *b* : *m* alternation do occur elsewehre in Ethiopian Semitic. The palatalization *s > š* in some of the S.Eth. forms could have been conditioned by the following *i* : *ʾməsit > məš(ə)t*; those forms without palatalization may have arisen from a metathesized *ʾmisət > mist*, *məst*. The Eth. root *bʾs* (Gz. *bəʾsä* 'be harsh, bad') is common Semitic *bʾš*. For the semantic development from 'be bad, strong' to 'man' compare Heb. *geber* 'man' and *gābar* 'be strong'.

wändəm(m) 'brother'   :   Te. *wäd ʾəm* beside *ḥu* 'brother'.

This is a compound of *wänd* 'male, son' and *-əm(m)* 'mother', a bound morph in Amharic. The inherited Semitic item for 'brother' occurs elsewhere in Eth.Sem., but is lost in Amharic: Gz. *ʾəḫʷ*, Tna. *ḥaw*, Te. *ḥu*, Har. *əḥ*, Arg. *äḥ*. This might be because of the inherent phonetic weakness in the resultant Amharic form which would have been *ʾə*. The feminine derivative of this root does, however, survive in Amharic as *ət* 'sister'.

warsa 'brother/sister-in-law'

The derivation of this item from Eth. *wrs* (common Sem. *wrt̲*) 'inherit' would seem to reflect the custom of levirate.

1.3.   PARTS OF THE BODY

af 'mouth'   :   Gz.Tna.Te. ʾ*af*, Har.Arg.Wl.Z. *af*, Ch. *af*ʷ, etc.   Common
                                   Semitic **p-*, cf. Ar. *fam*, *fū*, Heb. *pe*, Akk. *pū*.

It is worth noting here that an Afroasiatic cognate occurs in various Cushitic languages, whose form is closer to the Ethiopian Semitic than that is to the rest of Semitic, cf.: Bil. ʾ*äb*, Saho-Afar *af*, Som. *âf*, Galla *âfaan(i)*, etc.

afɔnča 'nose'   :   Gz. ʾ*anf*, Hamasen Tna. ʾ*anfi*, Te. ʾ*anɔf*, Har. *ūf*, Gaf. *af*ʷ*ä*,
                                   Ch. *äfuna*, etc.

The Amharic form may be explained as a metathesis of **anf* + *-ɔč(č)a*.   Common Semitic ʾ*np* (Ar., ʾ*anf*, ESA. ʾ*nf*, Heb. ʾ*āp*, Akk. *appu*).

ammämä 'hurt'   :   Gz. *hammä* 'be sick', Tna. *hamämä*, Te. *hamma*.   Common
                                   Semitic *hmm* 'be hot, feverish'.

amot 'bile'   :   Gz.Tna. *hamot̲*, Gaf. *amotä*, Z. *amut*, Ch. *amota*, etc.   Common
                                   Semitic, cf. Ar. *huma* 'venom', Heb. *hẹmā*, Akk. *imtu*.

andäbät 'tongue'   :   Har. *arrāt*, M.Sod. *allämät*, Ch. *anäbät*, S1.Wl.Z. *arämät*,
                                   Go. *alemät*, E. *annäbät*, End. *anäd*, etc.

Of East Cushitic origin, cf. Galla *arraba*, Som. ᶜ*arrab*, Sid. *arrabo*, Had. *allaabo*, Saho *anraab,* etc.   The form underlying the Eth.Sem. items may be reconstructed as **arnäbät*, which, with its *-t* suffix, resembles the most closely such forms as Kambatta *anräbitä*, Alaba *arräbit*.   This suffixed *-t* in the Eth.Sem. forms could, however, be a development purely within Eth.Sem.

angʷäl 'brain'   :   Tna. *hangʷäl*, Te. *hangäl*, Har. *hangulla*, Arg. *angʷäl*.

Of East Cushitic origin, probably, cf. Saho-Afar *hangal* ~ *hangal*, Som. *hangulla*; the Bilin item *hangʷäl* is probably, however, taken from Eth.Sem.

angät 'neck'   :   Te. ʾ*angät*, Har. *angät*, Arg. *angäd*, Old Amh. *hangät*, and
                                   also *hngt* in Tna. *tähangätä* 'to tie round the neck and
                                   shoulders'.

This root **hng-t* has been connected with the common Semitic *hnq* ~ ᶜ*nq*: Gz. *hanäḳä* 'strangle', Amh. *annäḳä*, Ar. ᶜ*unq* 'neck', Heb. ᶜ*anāq* 'necklace'.   This is not impossible, allowing for the unpredictable shift of *ḳ* to *g*.

angät 'innards'   :   Gaf. *anzätä*, Ch.M.Ms. *anzät*, Sod. *anžät*, Old Amh. *hanžät*.

This would appear to be a derivative of the Eth. root *ḥmš* (Gz. *ḥəmš* 'uterus', Amh. *əmš*), perhaps from something like *hamš + *äyt* with voicing of *š* > *z* and palatalization of *z* > *z/ǧ* in Amharic and Soddo. The root *ḥmš* is Semitic, cf. Heb. *ḥọmeš* 'belly', Akk. *emšu*.

aṛ 'faeces'	:	Tna. *ḥaṛʾi*, Te. *ḥaṛə ʾ*, Ch.M.Sod. *aṛä*. Semitic, cf. Ar. *ḫuṛ ʾ*, Heb. *ḥaṛī.*

aṭənt 'bone'	:	Gz. *ʿazm*, Tna. *ʿaṣmi*, Te. *ʿaṣəm*, Har. *āṭ*, Arg. *haṭəm*, Gaf. *aṣmʷä*, Ch. *aṭəm*, etc.

The Amharic is the only form to have a suffix -*t*, which probably originates from the plural, cf. Gz. *ʾaʿzəmt*, i.e. collective used as a singular, cf. *ṭat* 'finger', below. Common Semitic *ʿẓm*.

ayn 'eye'	:	Gz.Te. *ʿayn*, Tna. *ʿayni*, Har.Sl.W. *īn*, Arg.Ch. *en*, Gaf. *inä*, End. *ēn*, etc.

Common Semitic *ʿyn*.

əgəṛ 'leg, foot'	:	Gz. *ʾəgṛ*, Tna. *ʾəgṛi*, Te. *ʾəgəṛ*, Arg. *ingiṛ*, Har. *igiṛ ~ ingiṛ*, Gaf. *əgʷṛä*, Ch. *ägəṛ*, etc.

This root, *ʾgṛ*, is Semitic, cf. ESA. *ʾgṛ*, Datina and Palestinian Ar. *ʾiǧṛ*, though it doubtful, I feel, whether it is immediately connected with Sem. *ṛgl* of the same meaning, as has been suggested before.

əǧ 'hand'	:	Gz. *ʾəd*, Tna. *ʾid*, Te. *ʾəde*, Arg.Sl.Wl. *ənǧ*, Har. *iǧi*, Ch. *äǧ*, Z. *ənǧi*.

The palatalization in the S. Ethiopian forms derives from the proto-form *ʾəde*, which occurs still in Tigre and in the Ge'ez form used with pronoun suffixes. Ethiopian *ʾd* is the same as common Semitic *yd*; traces of an original *ʾd* besides *yd* occur elsewhere in Semitic.

ənbəṛt 'navel'	:	Gz. *ḥənbəṛt*, Tna. *ḥəmbəṛti*, Te. *ḥəmbəṛ*, Arg. *əmbəṛt*, Har. *ḥambuṛti*, Z. *əmbəṛbit*.

This item is almost certainly of Cushitic origin, and specifically East Cushitic, cf.: Som. *ḥunḍūṛ*, Galla *ḥanḍuṛa*, Saho *ḥindub ~ ḥandub*; several Agaw languages have what may be a cognate form, Kem. *gämbäṛa*, Quara *gumbeṛa*, which has been taken into Gafat as *gumbəṛä* and Gondare Amharic as *gəmbəṛa*. It has been suggested that the Ethiopian Semitic forms should be connected with other Semitic terms such as Ar. *nabṛa* 'excrescence', or Heb. *ṭabbūṛ* 'navel', but this seems unlikely on formal grounds alone.

əmš 'vagina'	:	Gz. *ḥəmš*. Common Semitic, cf. Heb. *ḥọmeš* 'belly', Aram. *ḥumšā*, Akk. *emšu*.

ənba ~ ənb 'tear'	:	Gz. *ʾanbə ʿ*, Tna. *nəbʿat*, Te. *ʾənbə ʿ*, Arg. *əmbi*, Har. *əbi ʾ*, Gaf. *əmbʷä*, Ch. *əmba*, Sl.Z. *əmb*, etc.

The root is *nbᶜ*, which is common Semitic, cf. Ar. *nabaᶜa* 'gush forth', etc.

əwwər 'blind' : Gz.Tna.Te. ᶜəwur, Arg. əwwur, Gaf. əwwərä, Sod. in-äwər,
                  Sl.M. en-ur, etc.
Common Semitic ᶜwr.

čamma 'shoe, sole of the foot' : M.Sod.Wl. čamma. Of S.Agaw origin, čammi; other Agaw
                  forms are Bil. šanǯi, Kem. šamba, Khm. caba, etc.

čən 'thigh' : Arg.Gaf. čən 'thigh', Wl. čən 'back', Har. čən 'waist',
                  and probably also Ch. ḳin ~ ḳin 'behind'.

There have been several attempts at the etymology of this item from Praetorius (1879:95),
who sought to derive it from Gz. ṣənṭ 'rib', to Wajnberg (1937b:20), who proposed Gz. həṣn
'lap' as its origin, and Cohen (1969, no. 182), and Cohen (1931:109), who suggested as
connection with Gz. kʷərnaᶜ 'elbow'. All three are unlikely on phonetic grounds alone.
Rather, if the connection made with Ch. ḳin is correct, one wonders whether *ḳən > čən
should be derived from the root ḳnᶜ 'be straight' (see below, under ḳäñ); the semantic
scatter of the various items listed above would not, I think, be out of keeping with such
an etymology.

däm 'blood' : so throughout Ethiopian Semitic (Gafat regularly has dämʷä).
Common Semitic dm.

dänḳoro 'deaf' : Tna. dänḳʷäro, Ch. ṭänḳʷarra; probably to be connected
                  with Gz. dənḳəw, Har.Sl. dōnḳa, Gaf. dənḳu-š, Wl. donḳä,
                  End. dənuʾ.

Cushitic, cf. Galla donḳo, donḳoro 'stupid', Alaba dōnḳä, Som. dóqon 'fool', and the
common Agaw terms for 'donkey', Bil. dəxʷara, Kem. dəǧʷära, S.Ag. duxʷari, etc. (Cohen
1951-4:15-16).

ǯit 'face' : Har. ǯit, Arg. ǯid, Ch.E.Gy. yiǯt, Sl.Wl. uǯt, Z. əǯit,
                  M.Ms.Go.Sod. iǯt, etc.

Common Semitic, cf. Soq. ǯio 'forehead', Akk. pūtu, probably also Heb. pęʾā 'corner, side
(esp. of the head)'.

gubbät 'liver' : M.Sod.Wl. gəbbʷot, Old Amh. gubbäd.

Praetorius (1879:85) related this item to Sem. kbd, which does of course, occur throughout
Ethiopian Semitic including Amharic (käbd > hod 'belly'). It is not inconceivable that
gubbät should have derived from some form of the root kbd by a variety of faulty restitu-
tion and irregular developments, but it is, I feel, unlikely, though no alternative
etymology would seem to offer itself.

gulbät 'knee'   :   Har. *gəlib*, Arg.Gaf.Sod. *gulbät*, Ch. *gʷəhbät*, Gy. *gʷəhmät*,
                                       End. *gunōd*, etc.

All the S.Eth. forms except Har. *gəlib* can be derived from **gʷəlbät*; the item does not
occur in N. Ethiopian except in Tna. *gulbät*, which has only the restricted sense of 'strength'
and is almost certainly an Amharicism. The item is of Cushitic origin, though it is not
possible, I believe, to define one particular branch of Cushitic as the most likely source:
cf. Bil.Khm.Kem. *gəhb*, S.Ag. *gəhɔb*, Saho-Afar *gulub*, Som. *ǧilib*, Galla *ǧilba*, Darasa *gulbo*,
Kambatta *gulubita*, etc. Attempts to connect the Eth.Sem. item to Semitic roots such as
qlb and *ǧlb* (Praetorius 1879:67 and 72) must be discounted.

gunč cheek'   :   Tna. *gʷɔnči*, Har. *gunči*, Arg. *gumbɔč*, Ch.E. *gʷinčä*, Sl.
                                       gūnčä, etc.

Wajnberg (1937b:19-23) ingeniously suggested this could be an old 'dual' of the same root
as seen in Gz. *gäṣ* 'face', i.e. **gʷɔ(n)ṣe*. This is not impossible; at least, it is diffi-
cult not to connect this S. Ethiopian (and Tigrinya) item with the widespread Cushitic
root from which Gz. *gäṣ* derives: cf. Bil.Kem. *gäš*, Khm. *gac*, Saho *gazaa*, Som. *gäḍ* 'beard,
chin', Sid. *gâččo* 'chin', etc.

gʋha 'left'   :   Tna. *gɔhaw* 'left-handed', Arg. *gɔha*, Har. *guha* 'left',
                                       Gaf. *gɔhä*, Ch. *guha*, etc.

Cushitic, cf. Afar *gura*, Som. *gúhey*, Sid. *guhaččo*, Kem. *gɔhi*. Leslau's (1956:203) suggestion
that *gɔha* should be related to Sem. *ǧhb* 'west' seems less likely than a Cushitic explanation.

guhäho 'throat'   :   Gz. *gʷəhᶜe*, Tna. *gʷɔhäho*, *gʷəhgʷəhit* 'goitre', Te. *gɔhᶜe*,
                                       Gaf. *guhahä*, Ch. *gʷəhäh*.

Common Semitic, *ghᶜ* 'swallow' and *ghgh* 'throat', cf. Ar. *ǧuhᶜa* 'gulp', *ǧahǧaha* vb.
'swallow', Heb. *gahgᵉhōt* 'throat', Akk. *gagguhītu*, etc.

ǧoho 'ear'   :   occurring only in Amharic.

The other Eth.Sem. languages all preserve the common Semitic item, cf. Gz. *ɔzn*. Amh.
ǧoho is almost certainly from Galla *guhha*, or something like it.

gähba 'back'   :   Te. *guhbät*.

Praetorius (1879:84 and 94) derived this from the Semitic root *dbh*. There are, however,
several Cushitic items, particularly Agaw, which provide a more satisfactory explanation:
Bil. *gɔhba*, Khm. *ǧihba*, Quara *gibha*; also Som. *gähab* 'shoulderblade'.

hod 'belly'   :   Gz. *käbd* 'liver', Tna. *käbdi*, Te. *käbəd*, Har. *kūd*, Ch. *xäpt*,
                                       Wl. *häbd*, etc.

Common Semitic *kbd*.

kulalit 'kidney'   :   Gz.Tna. *kʷəlit*, Te. *kɔlkɔlʔot*, Har. *kulāy*, Arg. *kullay*,
                                       Gaf. *kullalit*, Sl. *kilāyo*, Z. *hɔlayo*, etc.; note also Old
                                       Amh. *hɔlalit*.

All the S. Ethiopian forms may be derived from a partially reduplicated stem *kʷəlali-.
Common Semitic kly.

kənd 'forearm'   :   Gz.Tna. kʷərnaᶜ, Har. kuru³, Arg. kərra, Gaf. kəndä, Ch.Gy.
                                xənä, Sl. kəri, Wl. həri, Z. hərə, etc.

Amharic also has the item kərn 'elbow' which is apparently from the same root, but does not
show the usual development rn > nd. Older Amharic forms of this latter item, kərna and
written kərnaᶜ, suggest perhaps the direct influence of Gz. kʷərnaᶜ. On the other hand,
kənd is the regular development of *kərnəᶜ. The root is Common Semitic krᶜ, cf. Ar. kuraᶜ
'foot, leg', Heb. keraᶜ, Akk. kirētu.

känʃär 'lip'   :   Gz.Tna. känʃär, Te. kämʃär, Ch. känʃär, etc.

It is somewhat difficult to decide whether this is an inherited Semitic item to be connected
with Moroccan Ar. kaʃūra 'groin', or of Agaw origin: cf. Bil. kanʃar, Kem. kämʃär, Quara
kanpar, S.Ag. kimper; these Agaw items could, of course, be loans from Ethiopian Semitic
(Cohen 1969, no. 177).

ḳula 'testicles'   :   Old Amh. ḳʷəlha.

This is of Semitic origin and represents a variant pattern of the same root as in Amh.
ənkulal 'egg'; cf. Soq. ḳehēlihen 'egg', Mehri ḳali, Sheri ḳahalīt; note also Maghrebi Ar.
ḳalwa (pl. ḳlāwi) 'testicle'.

ḳinṭär 'clitoris'   :   Tna. ḳənṭär, Te. ḳänṭirät, Har. ḳənṭər, etc.

Semitic, cf. Datina Ar. qanṭār, Soq. ḳanṭar. The same item also occurs in E. Cushitic:
Som. kintir, Galla ḳinṭir, etc.

ḳäñ 'right'   :   Arg. ḳäñña, Gaf. ḳən, Har. ḳäñit 'warp', Wl. ḳäñni, Ch.Gy.
                                ḳänä , etc.

The Amharic form derives from a qatīl pattern of the root ḳnᶜ 'be straight' (Tna. ḳänᶜe,
Amh. ḳänna), which is probably related to Ar. qnᶜ (qannaᶜa 'satisfy'), ESA. tqnᶜ.

ḳiṭ 'anus'

Praetorius (1879:44) connected this with Gz. kʷiyṣ, kʷiṣ 'shin', which may be so, though
the semantics are somewhat awkward. In either case, the ultimate origin of this item is
almost certainly Agaw, cf. Bil. qit ~ git, Kem. gət, Khm. xuda; note also Galla huddu 'anus'.

ləbb 'heart'   :   Gz. ləbb, Tna. ləbbi, Te. ləb, etc.

Common Semitic lb.

mäläs ~ məläs 'tongue'   :   Tna. mälhas, Arg. mäläs, Gaf. məläsä, Old. Har. mälhasan.

The root is common Ethiopian and general Semitic lhs (lhš) 'lick'. The other S.Eth. lan-
guages use items related to Amh. andäbät, of Cushitic origin.

mǝɾaḵ 'saliva'   :   Gz. *mǝɾaḵ*, Tna.Te. *mǝɾɾaḵ*, Har. *mǝɾāḵ*, Arg. *mǝɾač̣*, Sod. *ǝɾǝmmač̣ä*, Ch. *ǝmbaḵä*, Enn. *ǝmbeʾä*, End. *mǝneʾ*, etc.

The root is *wɾḵ* (Gz. *wäɾäḵä* 'spit'), of common Semitic origin, cf. Heb. *yāɾaq*.

näfs 'soul'   :   Gz. *näfs*, Tna.Har. *näfsi*, etc.
Common Semitic *npš*.

ɾas 'head'   :   Gz. *ɾǝʾs*, Tna. *ɾǝʾsi*, Te. *ɾạ̈ʾas*, Har. *uɾūs*.
The Amharic term *ɾas* derives from a *qatal* pattern, like Te. *ɾạ̈ʾas*, whilst the element which provides the base of the 3rd person pronouns preserves the pattern *ɾǝʾs*. Common Semitic *ɾʾš*.

ɾiz 'beard'   :   Arg. *aɾiz*, Gaf. *ɔɾiz*, Z. *aɾeda*.
The Amharic, Argobba, and Gafat items are probably of Sidamo origin, cf. Ṭembaro *äɾēza*, whereas the Zway item may be directly from Galla *aɾeda*.

samba 'lung'   :   Gz.Tna. *sänbuᶜ*, Te. *sämbǝᶜ*, Ch. *sambᵂa*, Sod. *sambᵂo*, etc.
Of Cushitic, and probably specifically Agaw origin: cf. Bil. *sänbi*, Kem. *sämba*, S.Ag. *sambi*; note also Som. *sámbab*, Galla *somba*.

sǝɾ 'nerve'[13]   :   Gz. *sǝɾw*, Tna. *suɾ ~ sǝɾ*, Te.Har. *sǝɾ*, Arg. *sǝɾed*, Gaf. *sǝɾet*, Ch. *äsǝɾ*, etc.
Common Semitic, cf. Ar. *suɾɾa* 'umbilical cord', Heb. *šōɾ* 'nerve, muscle', Aram. *šeɾyānā* 'pulse', etc. This is probably a variant of the Semitic root *šɾš* 'root'; the two meanings 'nerve' and 'root' have, for the most part, been collapsed in Ethiopian Semitic under the one root, *sɾw*.

šǝbät 'grey hair'   :   Gz. *šibät*, Tna. *sibät ~ šǝbät*, Te. *šib*, Har. *šibät*, Arg. *šǝbät*, etc.
Common Semitic *šyb*. Amharic has formed a denominative verb *šäbbätä* in place of the original primary verb root form, as in Gz. *šebä*, Ar. *šāba*, Akk. *šību*, etc.

šil 'foetus'   :   Gz. *sǝyl*, Tna. *šǝlät* 'afterbirth', Te. *sǝlet*.
Common Semitic *šly*, cf. Ar. *salā*, Heb. *šilyā*, Akk. *šilītu*, etc.

šännä ~ šanna 'urinate' (n. *šǝnt*): Gz. *šenä*, *šǝnt*, Tna. *šänä*, *šǝnti*.
Common Semitic *ṭyn*.

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[13]Also meaning 'root' in Amharic, as in some, but not all of the other Ethiopian Semitic languages.

täṣṣa 'spit, vomit'   :   Gz.Te. *täṣʾa*, Tna. *täṣʾe*, Gaf. *täṣṣä*, Ch. *täṣam*, etc.

Several S. Ethiopian languages, including Amharic, have a descriptive compound derivative with the verb 'to say': Har. *tuṣ bāya*, Arg. *ɔntɔṣ aɭa*, Amh. *ɔntɔṣṣ aɭä*, Z. *tɔṣun bāɭä*, etc. Common Semitic, cf. Ar. *taṣṣa*, Aram. *tᵉpap*. Similar forms also occur in Cushitic (Cohen 1969, no. 319).

tɔnṣaš 'breath'   :   Tna. *tɔnṣaš*, Har. *tɔmṣāš*.

From the root *nṣš* (Sem. *npš*).

tänña 'sleep'   :   Har. *ñēʾa*, Arg. *teñña*, Ch.Gy. *nɔyäm*, Sod. *ɔññäm*, Sl. *ɔñe*,
                                  Z. *iñt*, Wl. *iññe*, E. *nɔyyäm*, Enn. *neʾä*, End. *näʾä*, and
                                  probably also Tna. *nähayä* 'be tired of'.

Amharic treats the *t* as a radical except in the derived noun *mäññita*. The cognate forms clearly show that the underlying root form is *nhy* (as Tigrinya) or *ⁿnyh* (hence the palatalization to *ñ* in some S.Eth. languages). Praetorius (1890:43) connected this root *nhy*, including Gz. *tänahayä* 'confess sins' (?), with Ar. *whn* 'be weak, exhausted' via a biradical nominal with the stem *hin-*, restructured into a triradical verb root as *nhy*. This seems a little contrived but is, perhaps, not impossible; at least, no satisfactory rival etymology can be found. The N. Ethiopian languages show a variety of roots for 'sleep', Gz. *num*, *škb*, Te. *škb*, Tna. *škb*, *dḳs*; of these *num* and *škb* have numerous common Semitic cognates.

tɔṣɔr 'nail'   :   Gz. *ṣɔṣr*, Tna. *ṣɔṣri*, Te. *ṣɔṣɔr*, Har. *ṭiṣir*, Arg. *čuṣṣɔr*,
                                  Gaf. *ṣɔṣrä*, Ch.Gy. *tɔṣɔr*, etc.

Common Semitic *zpr*.

tägur 'hair'   :   Gz. *ṣägʷr*, Tna. *ṣägʷri*, Te. *čägɔr*, Har. *čigär*, Arg. *čɔgär*,
                                  Gaf. *ṣɔgärä*, Ch.Gy. *dɔgär*, etc.

It is an interesting point that Amharic shares the vocalization pattern *ṣäg⁽ʷ⁾r* with N. Ethiopian, whilst all the other S. Ethiopian forms can be derived from the pattern *ṣɔgär*. Eth. *ṣgʷr ~ ṣgr* is of Cushitic origin (E. Cushitic?): cf. Som. *ḍōgor*, Saho *dagar*, Afar *daguuru*, Baiso *ogorro*; also Bil. *šɔgʷɔr*, if this is a genuine, inherited Agaw item, and not a loan from Ethiopian Semitic. This item has been connected with Sem. *šᶜr*, which may be correct at the level of Afroasiatic. The immediate origin of the Eth.Sem. item, however, is surely Cushitic rather than a purely Semitic variant of *šᶜr*.

tɔrs 'tooth'   :   Gz. *zɔrs* 'molar'. Semitic, cf. Ar. *ḍirs*.

All the other Eth.Sem. languages preserve the common Semitic item, e.g. Gz. *sɔnn*.

tat 'finger'   :   Gz. *ʾaṣbaᶜt*, Tna. *ʾaṣabɔᶜ*, Te. *čɔbᶜit*, Har. *aṭābiñña*, Arg.
                                  ṭad, Gaf. *ṣatä* 'hand', Sod. *aṭabät*, Ch. *atebä(t)*, etc.

The Amharic, Argobba, and Gafat forms can all be derived from *ṣäbᶜat*, cf. Old Amh. *ṣäʾat*, which like the Tigre item does not show the initial *ʾ* of the remaining Eth.Sem. forms. Common Semitic *ʾṣbᶜ*.

ṭut 'breast'   : Gz.Te. ṭɔb, Tna. ṭub, Har. ṭōt, Arg. ṭut, Gaf. ṭuwwä, Ch. ṭu, Gy. ṭaw, etc.

Only the Amharic, Harari, and Argobba items have a suffix -t and can be derived from *ṭɔbt. Semitic, cf. Ar. ṭiby 'udder, teat'.

wäzza 'sweat' (vb)   : Har. awäzaʾa, Ch.Enn.Gy. awzasa-, Sl.Wl.Z. awäzä-, etc.; Amh. wäz (n), Har. wɔziʾ, Gaf. wuzä, Ch. wɔzat.

Semitic wdᶜ, cf. Heb. yezaᶜ. Another Amharic item with the same meaning is ɫab (n), aɫabä (vb), to which Tna. ɫahbät (n) may be compared; cf. Sem. ɫhb 'burn, be parched'.

2. THE SEMANTIC FIELD "THE DOMESTIC ENVIRONMENT"

The subdivisions under this heading are 2.1) agricultural activities and implements, 2.2) crops, 2.3) domestic animals, 2.4) food and its preparation, and 2.5) the house. In the field of agricultural terminology we are dealing with an area of the lexicon which is likely to be susceptible to linguistic borrowing and innovation in direct response to cultural borrowing, unlike the field of "man" which has been examined above. The basic agricultural methods and processes, like ploughing, sowing, reaping, milling, and the names of the commoner domestic animals may be regarded within the context of the given ecological area as being culturally so non-specific as to be classifiable in lexicographic terms as "basic" vocabulary. It may, therefore, be reasonably assumed that the corresponding lexical items are not typically subject to ready borrowing or replacement. This is in contrast to more specific items, like the names of local corps, domestic animals, certain specialized tools, and so on. When we turn, then, to these areas of the Amharic lexicon, we find that whilst the "basic" vocabulary is mainly of inherited Semitic origin, there is a considerable number of non-Semitic terms amongst crop and animal names. In historical terms this can be interpreted as evidence that the objects, but not necessarily the processes of agriculture in highland Ethiopia owe not a little to the indigenous, non-Semitic populations. Indeed, it appears (Gamst 1969:11-12; also Simoons 1970:124ff) that the Ethiopian plateau and surrounding areas were a centre of plant domestication and dispersal from any early period, long before the earliest conjectured arrival of Semitic speaking peoples. Crops such as ṭeɬ (*Poa abyssinica*), nug (*Guizotia abyssinica*) were domesticated locally, whilst others like 'wheat' (sɔnde), 'barley' (gäbs), 'finger millet' (dagussa), and 'flax' (tälba) seem to have reached Ethiopia early on.[14] The names of these cereals are of non-Semitic origin, most probably from Agaw. An exception to this is 'barley' (gäbs), which may be Semitic. The term for 'wheat' (sɔnde) is probably of Cushitic origin, though perhaps only as the contamination of an original Semitic form. Of course, this does not mean to say that the crop itself was unknown to the incoming Semites. Other crop names like atär 'pea', bakela 'bean', massɔr 'lentil', bärbäre 'red pepper', and so on, are loans from outside Ethiopia, mostly either from or through the medium of Arabic

Amongst the names of domestic animals we find bäre 'ox', däbäl 'kid', färäs 'horse', gɔmäl 'camel', gɔlgäl 'young animal', ɫam 'cow', and käbt 'cattle' of inherited Semitic origin, whilst terms like ahɔyya 'donkey', dɔmmät 'cat', doro 'chicken', fɔyäl 'goat', wɔšša 'dog',

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[14]Conti Rossini (1928:106) attributes the introduction of "molte piante utili specialmente per l'alimentazione" to the South Arabians, but see Gamst (1969) and Simoons (1970).

and probably *bäg* 'sheep' and *bäḳℓo* 'mule' are of non-Semitic origin. Of these only the last two, *bäg* and *bäḳℓo*, have cognates distributed throughout Ethiopian Semitic; *doro* and *dəmmät* are shared by N. Ethiopian and Amharic; *wəšša* and *ɓəyäℓ* are common to Amharic and neighbouring S. Ethiopian languages; *ahəyya*, at the other end of the scale, occurs only in Amharic and has no cognates in Ethiopian Semitic. In the instance of these restricted loans we are dealing with localized items and, indeed, the likely source languages are identifiable in each instance. When we examine the terms for these animals in other Ethiopian Semitic languages, we find a wide array of items from various sources, both Cushitic loans (Har. *adurru* 'cat' from Galla; Har. *buči* 'dog' also from Galla; Gaf. *kuttä* 'chicken' from Sidamo, and so on), and inherited Semitic items not preserved in Amharic (Tna. *kälbi* 'dog'; Har. *ṭäy* 'goat'). As I said in the introduction to this paper, I do not deem it wise to try and draw historical or cultural implications from the history of individual items. Nevertheless, I think it is a legitimate question to raise why, for example, are such "basic" terms as 'dog', 'goat', etc., of non-Semitic origin in the Amharic lexicon, whilst other Ethiopian Semitic languages preserve the common Semitic item? It would be naïve to answer this in concrete terms; rather the significant point lies in the distribution of the non-Semitic languages from which these terms were taken. In the case of *wəšša*, for example, the apparent source is Sidamo; *ɓəyäℓ*, on the other hand, is seemingly of S. Agaw origin. Both of these languages were spread over wider areas in former times and have for some time been subject to the encroachment of Amharic. These terms are concrete evidence of the substrate over which Amharic speech has spread and developed. The instance of the two terms *bäg* 'sheep' and *bäḳℓo* 'mule', however, is somewhat different. Both terms are widespread throughout Ethiopian Semitic, including Ge'ez, and it can, therefore, be proven that their "introduction" into Ethiopian Semitic is of an early date. They are not localized loans replacing Semitic terms preserved elsewhere, but are fundamental constituents of common Ethiopian Semitic vocabulary. In the example of the mule, *bäḳℓo*, a positive statement can be made to the effect that this animal seems to have been a relatively late introduction to the Semitic speaking world, there being no common Semitic term for the animal; indeed, Arabic borrowed the term *baġℓ* from the Ethiopian side of the Red Sea. The sheep certainly was well known to the Semites, there being several common Semitic terms for the animal, none of which, however, occur in Ethiopian Semitic (*š²*, *ḍ²n*, etc.).

In the field of food terms the following items are of clear Semitic origin: *ayb* 'cheese', *ərat* 'evening meal', *bərz* 'honeyed water', *bsℓ* 'be cooked, ripe', *doḳet* 'flour', *kʷrs* 'break bread', *mar* 'honey', *məsa* 'midday meal', *ərgo* 'yoghurt', and *ṭore* 'fresh, raw'. Probably also of inherited Semitic origin are *bokA* 'ferment', *ɓℓA* 'boil', *kəbe* 'butter', *mäsob* 'basket table', *məṭad* 'griddle', *ṭbs* 'fry', and *wäṭ* 'stew', though the precise derivation of these items is not clear and the likely Semitic cognates are of weak formal and/or semantic fit. Perhaps more than in the other areas of the lexicon discussed here, food terms are subject to borrowing and influence from outside as fashions fluctuate and trade introduces new food crops. Thus, the names of all the typical spices, *ərd*, *bärbäre*, *zəngəbəℓ*, table equipment like *ǧäbäna* 'coffee pot', *ɓənǧaℓ* 'coffee cup', *sähan* 'plate', *dəst* 'cooking pot', *šukka* 'fork', etc., and fruits like *muz* 'banana' and *ℓomi* 'lime', not to mention more recent introductions, are all loans mostly from or through the agency of Arabic. Probable Cushitic contributions to food terminology in Amharic are *bässo* 'roasted barley flour', *čoma* 'fatty meat', *čäw* 'salt', *kʷanṭa* 'dried meat', *šəro* 'chickpea paste', *šəmbəra* 'chickpeas', and possibly also *ənǧära* 'bread', *ṭälla* 'beer', and *ṭäǧǧ* 'honey wine'.

Of the names of parts of the house etc., for which a satisfactory etymology can be established, the majority is of inherited Semitic origin. These Semitic items are typically names of the most basic and "primitive" architectural features, like *aṭər* 'fence', *bärr* 'door, gate', *bet* 'house', *däǧ* 'gateway', *mändär* 'village', *kədan* 'thatch', *məsäso* 'centre pole', and probably also *mədəǧǧa* 'hearth'. The majority of the names of other parts of the house, like *gʷada*, *ṭara*, *walta*, *gulləčča*, and constructional features like *gotära*, *gəmb*, *kab*, etc., remain

unidentified as to origin. The few readily identifiable Cushitic terms here are *gɔdgɔdda* 'wall of wattle and daub', *koṭ* 'loft, high shelf', *goǧo* 'straw hut'. More advanced and sophisticated terms, like *därb* 'upper storey', *ʃok* 'storeyed building', *däräǧa* 'staircase', *ʌrkan*, etc., are of Arabic origin.

In the field of the domestic enviornment, therefore, there is a relatively high proportion of non-Semitic material (25 items out of a total of 93 studied : 26.9%), all of which consists of names of specific animals, plants, or foodstuffs. To these may be added the three building terms noted above. Perhaps the most fundamental observation that can be made here, and which, incidentally, is also valid in the field of the natural environment, is that broadly speaking general terms are inherited Semitic, but the specific and typically Ethiopian terms are of non-Semitic origin.

2.1. AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES AND IMPLEMENTS

aččädä 'reap'   : Gz.Tna. *ʿaṣädä*, Gaf. *aṣṣädä*, Sod. *addädäm*.

The palatalization of the medial radical in Amharic may have arisen in the imperfect (*yäʿaṣṣʌd > yaččʌd*), or the gerundive (*ʿaṣido > aččʌdo*). Common Semitic *ʿdd*.

alläbä 'milk'   : Gz.Tna. *ḥaläbä*, Te. *ḥalba*, Har. *ḥaläba*, Arg. *halläba*, Sl.Wl.Z. *aläbä*, Ch. *anäbäm*, etc.

Common Semitic *ḥlb*.

arrämä 'weed'   : Har. *ḥaram* (n), Arg. *harräma*, Sod. *irrämäm*, Ch. *anämäm*, etc.

All the S.Eth. forms go back to a B-type conjugation of *ḥrm*, which occurs in N.Eth. in the A-type conjugation (Gz. *ḥarämä*, etc.) meaning 'prohibit, be prohibited'. Common Semitic *ḥrm*.

arräsä 'plough' (vb)   : Gz.Tna. *ḥaräsä*, Te. *ḥarsa*, Har. *ḥaräsa*, Arg. *harräsa*, Sl.Wl.Z. *aräsä*, etc.

Common Semitic *ḥrt*. The instrumental noun from this root (Amh. *maräšša*) provides the name of the plough, or occasionally more specifically the ploughshare (Tna.Te. *maḥräša*) in most of the modern Ethiopian Semitic languages. Also from the same root and of fairly wide occurrence is the noun 'agricultural land': Amh. *ʌrsä*, Tna. *ḥʌrša*, Te. *ḥarʌs*, Har. *ḥarši*, Gaf. *ʌrrašä*.

ʃäččä 'mill'   : Gz. *ʃäṣḥa* 'break into pieces', Tna. *ʃäṣṣʌhe* 'grind', Har. *ʃäča*, Arg. *ʃäčča*, Sl.Wl. *ʃäče*, Z. *ʃäčī*, Enn.End. *ʃeʾä*, etc.

The S.Eth. forms all appear to derive from a root *ʃṣy, beside N.Eth. *ʃṣḥ. Semitic, cf. Ar. *ʃadda* 'break open', *ʃadaḥa* 'expose', Heb. *pāṣaḥ* 'crush', *pāṣā* 'split', etc.

ḳädda 'draw water'   : Gz.Te. *ḳädḥa*, Tna. *ḳädḥe*, Har. *ḳädaḥa*, Arg. *ḳäddäḥa*, Gaf. *ḳädda*, Ch. *gätam*, etc.

Semitic, cf. Ar. *qadaḥa* 'bore', Heb. *qādaḥ*.

ḳämbär 'yoke'   : Tna.Arg. *ḳämbär*, Gaf. *ḳämbärä*, and probably also Gz. *ḳämär* 'vault, arch'.

This is almost certainly Semitic and related to Syr. *qamrā* 'belt', though the item does occur (as a loan) in Cushitic, cf. Galla *ḳambari*, Sid. *ḳambarā*.

ḳärrämä 'glean'   : Gz.Tna. *ḳärämä*, Har. *ḳärma* (n) 'wheat stalk used in basket weaving', Sl. *ḳärme* 'stubble', (Amh. *ḳärm*).
Semitic, cf. Ar. *qarama* 'gnaw', *qurma* 'tree stump'.

mäǧ 'upper grindstone'   : Gz. *mädḥe*, Har. *mäǧǧi*, Ch. *mägä*, Sl. *mägǧe*, Z. *mäǧi*.
The root is *dḥy* (Gz. *däḥayä* 'grind'), to which Heb. *dāḥā* 'push, thrust', Ar. *daḥā* 'spread' may be compared.

mänš ~ mäšən 'winnowing basket' : Gz. *mäšᶜe*, Tna. *mäšᶜe*.
The root is *šᶜy* (Gz. *šäᶜayä*), to which Ar. *šaᶜā* may be compared.

näf̣f̣a 'sieve'   : Gz.Tna. *näf̣äyä*, Te.Har. *näf̣a*, Z. *näf̣ä*.
The root in Amharic has shifted to the biradical pattern that generally presupposes an original laryngal as third radical. In the instrumental noun (*wänf̣it*), however, the original root form persists; cf. Gz. *mänf̣e*, Tna. *mänf̣it*, Har. *wänf̣īt*, etc. Semitic, cf. Heb. *nippā* (vb), *nāpā* (n).

šälläbä 'castrate'   : Gz. *šäläba* 'pull out', Tna. *šäläbä* 'castrate', Te. *šälba*, Har. *šäläba*, etc.
Semitic, cf. Ar. *salaba* 'pull out'.

täkkälä   'plant'   : Gz. *täkälä*, Tna. *täxälä*, Te. *täkla*, Arg. *tekkäla*, Gaf. *täkkälä*, Sl.Wl. *čehälä*, Ms.Go. *čäkkäläm*, etc.
In most of the S.Eth. languages, though not in Amharic, this verb conjugates according to the B-type pattern. Formal cognates occur in Ar. *takila* 'trust', Aram. *tᵉkel*; the semantic correlation between these and the Eth.Sem. *tkl* 'plant, fix' is weak, but not impossible.

ṭämmädä 'yoke' (vb)   : Gz. *ẓämädä*, Tna. *ṣämädä*, Te. *ṣämda*, Har. *ṭämäda*.
Common Semitic *ḍmd*.

zärra 'sow'   : Gz.Te. *zärᵓa*, Tna. *zärᵓe*, Har. *zäraᵓa*, Ch. *zänam*.
The noun 'seed' (Gz. *zärᵓ*, Amh. *zär*, etc.) from the same root is fairly widespread throughout Ethiopian Semitic. Common Semitic *ḏrᶜ* (Ar., Heb., Aram., Akk.) ~ *ḏrᵓ* (ESA., Eth.Sem.).

2.2. CROPS

atär 'pea'   : Tna.Te. *ᶜatär* 'chickpea', Har. *atär* 'pea', Gaf. *atärä*, Z. *antärä*, Ch.Go. *atärä* 'bean', etc.

This is almost certainly a loan from Aden Ar. ᶜ*aṱaṟ*. The term also occurs in several
Cushitic languages: Galla *aṱaṟa*, Kambatta *aṱaṟâ*, Kem. *azäṟ*, Khm. *adiṟ*.[15]

ɔhɔ̈l 'grain'   : Gz. ᵊ*ɔkl*, Tna. ᵊ*ɔxli*, Te. ᵊ*ɔkɔl*, Har. *ɔxi*, Arg.Wl.Z.
                                          ɔhɔl, Ch. *äxɔṟ* 'barley', Sod. *äkɔl*, M. *äxi*, etc.

Common Semitic ᵊ*kl* 'eat'.

ɔšät 'unripe grain'   : Gz. *šäwit*, Tna. *säwwit* ~ *šäwwit*, Te. *šäwit*, Har. *asīta* ~
                                          ašīta, Arg. *ɔšed*, Gaf. *ɔšät*, Ch.Wl.Z.Gy. *ɔšet*, Sod.
                                          äsit, etc.

The S.Eth. forms all derive from *säyit, with attraction of *w* to *y* under the influence of
the following *i*. The root is *šwy* 'ripen' (Gz. *šäwäyä*), which is probably to be identi-
fied with Ar. *šwy* (*šawā* 'grill, roast', ᵊ*ašwā* 'be ripe for grinding (of grain)').

baḳela 'bean'   : Te.Wl.Z. *baḳela*, Har. *bāḳela*, Sl. *bāḳella*, Gy. *bäḳela*,
                                          etc.

A loan from Ar. *bāqilāᵊ*. The Semitic root *bql* exists in Ethiopian Semitic (cf. Amh.
bäḳḳälä 'sprout'), but this noun is certainly a loan from Arabic and not an inherited
form.

bun ~ bunna 'coffee'

So throughout Ethiopian Semitic and Cushitic; a loan from Ar. *bunn*, perhaps. However,
insofar as the coffee plant is itself of Ethiopian origin, one wonders whether the term
bunn might not also be of Ethiopian origin.

bärbäṟe 'red pepper'   : Gz. *bärbäṟe*, *päpäṟe*, Tna.Te.Arg.Wl.Z. *bärbäṟe*, Har.
                                          bärbäṟi, etc.

The alternative Ge'ez form, *päpäṟe*, looks like a direct loan from Gk. *pepeṟi*, whereas
bärbäṟe must be from another source. Semitic languages other than Ethiopian Semitic have
the root *plpl* ~ *flfl*. The form of the root *bṟbṟ* occurs outside Ethiopian Semitic only
amongst Cushitic languages. Whatever the immediate origin of the form *bärbäṟe* is, the
ultimate source of all these names is Indian, cf. Pali *pippalī*.

čat 'Catha edulis'

So throughout Ethiopian Semitic. This item is undoubtedly related to the Arabic name of
the same plant, *qāt*. Since the plant itself appears to be of Ethiopian origin, it would
seem reasonable to assume that the name is, too, and that Arabic has borrowed the term
from Ethiopia. The item also occurs widely throughout Cushitic.

dagussa 'finger millet'   : Tna.Te. *dagussa*.

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[15] See Conti Rossini (1912:174): "la variété qu'on a pu étudier dans le nord d'Ethiopie
est le *Cicer arietinum*, et qui semble originaire du bassin oriental de la Méditerranée,
d'où il aurait été importé dans le Yemen et en Abyssinie."

Cushitic, cf. Bil. *dagúsa*, Khm. *dausa*, Kem. *daušа*, S.Ag. *dagusí*, Galla *daguzâ* ~ *dagugâ*.

dɔnnɔč 'potato'   :   Tna.Te. *dɔnnɔš*, Har. *dinnicča*, Ch. *dɔnica*, Sl.Wl.Z.
                                 dɔnnɔčča, Gy. *dĩnca*, etc.

The name originally referred to the edible root *Coleus tuberosus*, but is now applied to
the potato, *Solanum tuberosum*. From Galla *dinnicča* 'the Galla potato', *Coleus edulis*. Cf.
also S.Ag. *dunizí* 'potato' (see Mooney 1963:12).

gäbs 'barley'   :   Har. *gūs*, Arg.Sod. *gäbs*, Z. *gäbɔs*.

This is generally (Praetorius 1879:48; Cerulli 1936:251; Leslau 1963:76) regarded as a
metathesized form of the root *sgm* (Gz. *sägäm*, Tna. *sɔgäm*); i.e. **sägɔm* > **gäm(ɔ)s* > *gäbs*.
Gz. *sägäm*, etc., is probably of Semitic origin, cf. Soq. *škĭmoh* 'grain of millet', though
certain Agaw languages have an apparent cognate form, perhaps an early loan from N.
Ethiopian: Bil. *síkmâ*, Khm. *sɔkɔmâ*, S.Ag. *sĩmkí*.

mɔssɔr 'lentil'   :   Te. *mɔsɔr* ~ *mänsɔr*, Har. *missir*, Arg.Gaf. *mɔssɔr*, Sod.
                                 mɔššɔrä, Sl.Wl.Z. *mɔšɔr*.

A different root form occurs in Ge'ez and Tigrinya *bɔrsɔn*. Both root patterns occur in
Cushitic: Som. *misir*, Kambatta *mišírâ*, etc., and Saho *birsin*, Khm. *bissir*, etc. The shape
of the Ge'ez and Tigrinya items is immediately reminiscent of Ar. *bulsun*, whilst the rest
of Ethiopian Semitic forms with initial *m-* are formally closer to the ultimate origin of
the root, Pali *masūra*. This suggests that perhaps *mɔssɔr*, etc., was taken directly from
some Indian source.

mašɔlla 'greater millet'   :   Tna.Sod. *mašɔlla*, Ch. *mašära*.

This is probably of Agaw origin, at least compatible cognates occur in Bil. *mašɔlâ*, Khm.
mâyla, Kem. *mayla*, Quara *mīlā*, S.Ag. *mela*.

nug 'Guizotia abyssinica'   :   Tna. *nihug* ~ *nɔg*", Te. *nɔhig* ~ *nɔhɔg*".

Cushitic and probably specifically Agaw, cf. Bil. *lɔhɔng*"*â*, Quara *lɔng*"*a*, Khm. *nuwâ*, S.Ag.
nugí, but note also Galla *nugí*, Saho *nehūg*.

sɔnde 'wheat'   :   Gz. *sɔrnay*, Tna. *sɔrnay*, Te. *šɔrnay*, Har. *sɔrri*, 'wheat
                                 bread', Gaf. *sɔndä*, Ch. *sɔnä*, Sl.Z. *sɔre*, Sod. *sɔrri*, Gy.
                                 sɔnay, Ms. *sɔnne*, etc.

It has been suggested that this common Ethiopian Semitic item is to be derived from the
Semitic root *šᶜr*, i.e. from something like **šɔᶜɔrnay*. This would not, however, be a regu-
lar process of derivation. Better formal (and semantic) fits occur throughout Cushitic:
Bil. *šinray*, Galla *sinra*, Som. *sareen*, Afar *sirraa*, and perhaps also Beja *seraam*. This
list certainly includes loans from Ethiopian Semitic (Bilin, for example, is the only
Agaw language here; the others have a totally different item, e.g. Kem. *gärg*"*a*, Khm. *zirwa*,
etc.), but others do have the appearance of "genuine" Cushitic items.

šɔmbɔra 'chickpea'   :   Tna.Te. *säbbäre* 'type of pea - *lethyrus sativus*', Har.
                                 šumbura 'chickpea', Ch. *šɔmbora*, etc.

The S. Ethiopian items are probably of Sidamo (or Galla) origin: Sid. *šumburaa*, Galla *šumbura*; for the N.Eth. forms cf. Saho *sabbaree*.

šənkurt 'onion'   :   Gz. *šog*ʷ*ərd*, Tna. *šog*ʷ*ərti*, Har. *šənkurta*, Arg. *šənkurt*,
                                          Gaf. *šunkurt*, Old Amh. *šong*ʷ*ərt*.

The item also occurs widely throughout Cushitic (Bil. *šog*ʷ*ərti*, Kem. *šurta*, Galla *šunkurta*, etc.). Gz. *šog*ʷ*ərd* and all the other forms, both Semitic and Cushitic, are ultimately from Gk. *skórdon* 'garlic'.

tälba 'flax, linseed'   :   Gz. *tɔlbe* ~ *tälbe* ~ *tɔlabe* ~ *tälabe*.

A loan from Agaw, cf. Kem. *tɔrba*, Khm. *tɪbā*, etc.

teŝ '*Poa abyssinica*'   :   Tna.Te. *taŝ*, Har. *tāŝi*, Arg. *teŝ*, Ch. *taŝi*, End. *tēŝ*, etc.

Cushitic, probably Agaw, cf. Bil. *taba*, Khm. *täb*, Kem. *tab*, S.Ag. *taŝi* 'millet', but also in Galla *taaŝi* and Saho-Afar *dāaŝi*. It is likely that there has been a certain degree of lexical borrowing between various Ethiopian languages, Semitic and Cushitic, in the spread of this item. The forms of the Galla and Saho-Afar items look more like original loans from Ethiopian Semitic than inherited Cushitic stock; the *t/d* initial would not be the regular correspondence to Agaw *t* (see Dolgopol'skiy 1973:54ff), but would regularly represent *t* in a loan from Ethiopian Semitic. On the other hand, the representation of a non-ejective by an ejective in an Ethiopian Semitic borrowing from Agaw would not be improbable. The dialect Arabic forms, Datina *tahaŝ* ~ *tahaŝ* '*Myrica gale*' and Hadrami *tahaŝ* (Leslau 1963: 152) are perhaps merely coincindences. The plant is apparently indigenous to Ethiopia, and these two Arabic dialect forms imply a root with a medial laryngal radical, for which none of the Ethiopian Semitic terms show any evidence. It would not, therefore, seem unreasonable to propose a Cushitic, and specifically Agaw origin for this item.

2.3.   DOMESTIC ANIMALS

ahɔyya 'donkey'   :   Tna. *ʔaxɔya* besides *ʔadgi* is probably a loan from Amharic.

Other than this there appear to be no cognates of Amh. *ahɔyya* in the rest of Ethiopian Semitic. This item is probably to be connected with Saho-Afar *okāalo*, also meaning 'donkey': **akɔl + ya > ahɔyya*.

bäg 'sheep'   :   Gz. *bäggɔ*ᶜ, Tna. *bäggi*ᶜ, Te. *bɔggu*ᶜ, Arg. *bägi*, Gaf. *bäg*.

A clearly related form occurs in Agaw, cf. Bil. *bägga*, Kem. *bäga*, Khm. *bɔga*, which Conti Rossini (1912:175) regards as a loan from Ethiopian Semitic. The usual Semitic terms for 'sheep', *šʔ*, *dʔn*, etc., are absent from Ethiopian Semitic, though the root *tly* (Gz. *täli* 'goat', Ar. *talā* 'lamb', etc.) does occur in certain S.Eth. languages with the meaning 'sheep' (Har. *tāy*, Sod. *ätay*, Ch. *te*, etc.). Those languages which employ the root *bg*ᶜ (N. Ethiopian, Amharic, Argobba, Gafat) are, however, within a likely radius of Agaw contact or substratum and though this root has been described as Semitic (cf. Ar. *baġbaġa* 'bleeting'), it would seem more likely to be an indigenous Agaw and Cushitic root (cf. Beja *book* 'billy-goat').

bäk̲lo 'mule'   :   Gz. *bäk̲l*, Tna. *bäxli*, Te. *bäk̲al*, Har. *bäk̲äl*, Arg. *bäk̲lo*,
                                       Gaf. *bəč̌əlä*, Ch. *buk̲ʷ̃ä*, Sl.Wl. *bok̲lo*, Z. *bok̲olu*, Sod.
                                       bəč̌əl, etc.

This is almost certainly of Cushitic origin: cf. Bil. *bäxlâ*, Kem. *bäyla*, Khm. *bəqla*,
Saho-Afar *bakela*, Qabena *bäk̲ulâta*, Som. *bâqal*. Arabic *baġl* is a loan from Ethiopian Semitic
(Gz. *bäk̲l*) (Nöldeke 1910:58; also Hommel 1879:112ff).

bäre 'bull, ox'   :   Gz. *bəᶜrawi* ~ *bəᶜray* ~ *bəᶜra*, Tna.Te. *bəᶜray*, Har. *baᵓara* ~
                                       bāra, Arg.Wl. *bara*, Ch.Sod. *bora*, Z. *būrä*, etc.

It is interesting that all the S. Ethiopian forms except Amh. *bäre* can be derived from a
pattern ending in *-a*, whilst Amharic agrees with Tigrinya and Tigre in having the suffix
-ay > -e. Common Semitic *bᶜr* (Ar. *baᶜîr* 'camel', ESA. *bᶜr*, Heb. *bᵉᶜîr* 'cattle', etc.).

däbäl 'billy-goat'   :   Gz.Tna. *dabela*, Te. *dibäla*, Har. *däbäy* 'heifer'.

Semitic, cf. Ar. *dubl* ~ *dawbal* 'young donkey', *dawbal* 'suckling pig'. Cf. also Amh. *dabbol*
'young domestic animal'.

dəmmät 'cat'   :   Tna.Te. *dəmmu*.
Of Agaw origin, cf. Kem. *daməya*, Quara *damyā*.

doro 'chicken'   :   Gz. *dorho*, Tna. *därho*, Te. *derho*, Arg. *doro*.

Cushitic, cf. especially Saho-Afar *dorho*, Som. *doro*, Beja *endirhoo*; note also Agaw **diruw-a*:
Bil.Kem. *diruwa*, Khm. *ǧiruwa*, S.Ag. *düri*. An East Cushitic (cf. Saho-Afar) origin seems more
likely than an Agaw one because of the presence of the third radical *h*.

färäs 'horse'   :   Gz.Tna.Te. *färäs*, Har.Arg.Ch. *färäz*, Gaf. *färäd*, etc.

Forms with final radical *z* ~ *d* occur throughout Cushitic and it would seem likely that such
Cushitic forms (originally loans from Semitic rather than inherited Cushitic items?) have
influenced those Ethiopian Semitic forms in *-z/-d*. The root is ultimately Semitic, *prš*.

fəyäl 'goat'   :   Arg. *fiyel*, Gaf. *fəǧäl*.
This item is of Agaw, and specifically S.Agaw. origin: S.Ag. *fiyêli*, cf. also Dembiya
fiyala. Whether these items are immediately relatable to the rest of Agaw: Bil. *fəntira*,
Khm. *fəč̌əra*, Kem. *fəntära*, or not is debatable.

gəlgäl 'young animal'   :   Tna. *gəlgäl* 'young mule or horse', Arg.Gaf. *gəlgäl* 'lamb',
                                       Har. *gīgi* 'young animal', M.Ms. *gəlgäl*, Ch.Gy. *grangər*,
                                       etc.

This is a reduplication *glgl* of the same root as occurring in Gz. *ᵓəgʷl* 'calf'. Common
Semitic *ᶜgl* (Eth.Sem. *ᵓg⁽ʷ⁾l*). A similar reduplication occurs in Syrian Beduin Arabic
gargūr 'large lamb'.

gəmäl 'camel'   :   Gz.Tna.Te. *gämäl*, Har. *gāmäla* ~ *gāmila*, Arg. *gamela*, Ch.
                                       gamera, etc.
Common Semitic *gml*.

* łam* 'cow'   : Gz. *łahm*, Tna. *łahmi*, Har.Sl. *łām*, Arg.Wl.Z. *łam*, Sod. *äłam*,
                                                 Ch.Gy. *äram*, Gaf. *äłam"ä*, Enn. *aråm*, Go. *ənnam*, Erid. *anaw*, etc.

This has been connected (Ullendorff 1956:192; also Krotkoff 1969:72) with the Semitic root
łhm : Ar. *łahm* 'food', Heb. *łehem* 'bread', Soq. *łehem* 'shark'. Despite the slight anomaly
of the *ḥ : h* correspondence this does not seem unlikely. Dillmann (1865:col.25) cites an
Arabic term *łihm* '*taurus annosus*'; perhaps the Semitic root *łhm* (Ar. *łihima* 'swallow
greedily') has influenced the development of the Ethiopian Semitic root in some way, too.

mänga 'flock, herd'   : Gaf. *mänga*.

Praetorius (1879:169) derived this from the root *nhg* 'guide, conduct', but a Cushitic deri-
vation seems to me the more likely: cf. Afar *mango* 'herd' from the root *mag-* 'be full'.

sänga 'castrated animal'   : Tna. *sanga*, Har. *sänga*.

Probably from Galla *sanga*, if this is an indigenous root. Praetorius (1879:98) preferred
a derivation from Gz. *sg"ᶜ* 'stab'.

ṭəǧǧa 'calf'   : Har. *ṭiǧa ~ ṭəǧa*, Arg. *ṭəǧǧa*, Gaf. *ṣäg"ä*, Sod. *ṭäg*, Ch.Gy.
                                                 däk, Ms.Go. *dägg*, etc.

This item occurs only in S. Ethiopian; the N. Ethiopian languages use a variety of terms:
Gz. *ᵓəg"ł*, Te. *ᵓəgał*, *fəłuy*, Tna. *mərax*, etc. The S. Ethiopian root may be characterized
as *ṭə/äg-a*, for which no likely origin can be identified.

wəšša 'dog'   : Arg. *wəšša*, Sod.Gaf. *wəššä*. Of Sidamo origin, cf. Sid.
                                                 wəšo, Kambatta *wošiččú*, Gudella *wiša*.

The other S. Ethiopian languages have various items of non-Semitic origin: Har. *buči*,
Wl. *bučo*, Ch. *gəyä*, etc. Only in N. Ethiopian is the inherited Semitic term preserved:
Gz. *käłb*, etc.

wäṭäṭo 'kid'   : Tna. *wäṭoṭo*.

Cushitic, cf. Sid. *waṭá*, *woṭiččo*, Galla *wotiyo* (?). One wonders whether this Cushitic
root is in some way cognate with that which seems to appear in Ge'ez as a loan: *wäyṭäł* 'wild
goat', cf. Afar *waḍaar*, *wadaar*.

2.4. FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION

ambašša 'wheat bread'   : Tna.Te. *həmbašša*, Old Amh. *həmbašša*.

Probably a derivative of the Eth.Sem. root *ḫbz ~ ḫbš* (Gz. *ḫəbəšt*) with the suffix *-ya* and
an "intrusive" nasal.

ayb 'cheese'   : Gz.Tna.Te. *ḥałib* 'milk', Har. *ḥāy*, Arg. *hayu*, Sl.Wl. *ayb*,
                                                 Z. *ayəb*, Ch. *eb*, etc.

Common Semitic *ḥłb* (see Amh. *ałłäbä*, above).

әngära 'bread'   : Tna.Te. ᵊәngera, Arg. ganǧir, Gaf. gәngärä, Sod. ganǧir.

The Amh. verb gaggärä 'bake bread' has the same root form with initial g- as the nominal
forms in other S. Ethiopian languages, which, according to Cohen (1939:384), may be the
original form of the root. Praetorius (1879:169) attempted to derive әngära from Ar.
ᶜugayr 'millet'; this is not implausible. However, there exists an item in Kemant and
Quara which may suggest an Agaw origin: gira 'a type of bread'. It would be easier to
explain ᵊәngera, әngära as an Ethiopian Semitic extension of Agaw gira, and the verb root
and nominal forms in initial g- as a kind of reduplicated extension thereof, than the
reverse.

әnḳulal 'egg'   : Tna. ᵊәnḳulaliḥ, Arg. әnḳulal, Gy. әnḳura.

Another version of the same root occurs in other Eth.Sem. languages: Gz. ᵊankoḳho ~
ᵊәnkoḳho, Tna. ᵊәnkʷaxʷәho, Te. ᵊәnkoḳho, Har. aḳuḥ, Gaf. ankʷä, Z. әnḳāḳu, Sod. anḳo, Wl.
әnḳaḳot, etc. The root ḳʷḷḥ which lies behind Amh. әnḳulal, etc., also occurs in Amh.
ḳula 'testicles' and has satisfactory Semitic cognates, cf. Soq. ḳeḥēḷiḥen, etc. Similar
forms to the other Eth.Sem. root pattern (Gz. ᵊankoḳho, etc.), however, occur throughout
Cushitic: Quara ḳaĝawinā, Kem. xʷäräĝʷina, Galla ankako, anḳaḳu, Saho unḳoḳoḥo, Som. ōgaḥ,
Rendille uḳun, Werize ugahe, Konso ukkʷa, etc. The two roots of Ethiopian Semitic may
not in fact be directly related; it is not impossible that Gz. ᵊankoḳho, etc., is of Cushitic
origin.

әrat 'evening meal'   : Te. ḥәrab 'meal', Har. ḥirāt, Arg. ḥәrbad, Ch.Gy.Sod. ärbat,
                                   S. urbāt, Z. әrbat, etc., also Old Amh. ḥәrat.

The root is ḥrb, which also occurs in Amharic in the verb tarräbä 'dine'. Cohen (1939:
25) suggested a connection with Sem. ᶜrb 'evening', which seems very possible.

bokka 'ferment'   : Gz. bәhᵊa, Tna. bäxʷᶜe, S.Eth. bäkka/bokka, etc.

The modern Eth.Sem. forms may all be derived from *bk⁽ʷ⁾ᵊ/ᶜ with pseudocorrection of ḥ to
k vis-à-vis the Ge'ez root. This root is almost certainly Semitic and may possibly be con-
nected with Ar. nabaḥa 'be sour'.

bәrz 'honeyed water'   : Gz. mәzr 'beer', Tna. bәrzi 'honeyed water', Har. birzi,
                                   Sl.Wl. bәrz.

All the modern Eth.Sem. forms have the root brz, beside Gz. and Semitic mzr: cf. Ar.
mizr 'type of beer', ESA. mzr.

bässo 'roasted barley flour':   Tna. bässo ~ bosso, Har.Wl. bässo, Z. bässu, Ch. bäswä,
                                   Sod. bässuwa, etc.

Of Cushitic origin: cf. Saho buša, Galla baso, Qabena bassúta; apparently not connected with
the Semitic root bsl 'be cooked', as suggested by Praetorius (1879:73).

bässälä 'be cooked, ripe'   : Gz.Tna. bäsälä, Te. bäsla, Har. bäsäla, Gaf. bässälä, Ch.
                                   abäsäräm, etc.

Common Semitic bšl (Heb. bāšal, Soq. behel, ESA. bsl (n) 'sacrificial hearth').

čoma 'fatty meat'   :   So throughout modern Ethiopian Semitic.
From Galla *čoma*.

čäw 'salt'   :   Gz. *ṣew*, Tna.Arg. *čäw*, Te. *čewa*, Gaf. *čäwä*.
Of Agaw origin, cf. Bil.Kem. *šəwa*, Khm. *čəwa*, etc.

dabbo 'wheat bread'   :   Har. *dābbo*, Sod. *dabbo*, Ch. *dapʷa*, Enn. *dapa*, etc.
Of East Cushitic origin, cf. Galla *dabo*, Kambatta *dabbúta*.

doḳet 'flour'   :   Old Amh. *däḳʷet*.
Cf. the Eth.Sem. root *dḳḳ* 'grind', Common Semitic *dqq*.

dəst 'cooking pot'   :   Tna. *dəsti*, Har. *disṭi*.
From Ar. *dist*.

ṣälla 'boil'   :   Gz. *ṣälḥa*, Tna. *ṣälḥe*, Har. *ṣälaḥa*, Arg. *ṣälläḥa*, Sl.
                                            ṣäla, Wl.Z. *ṣälä*, Sod.Ms.Go. *ṣälla(m)*, Ch. *täṣenam*, etc.
The Eth.Sem. root *ṣlḥ* is a perfectly "respectable" Semitic root shape, though it lacks any
satisfactory cognates in the rest of Semitic. Dillmann's (1865:col.1339) correlation
with Ar. *ṣwr* (*ṣāra*) 'cui et saturiendi et bulliendi vis inest' is not satisfactory, only one
out of the three radicals being shared. Despite the lack of a staisfactory cognate else-
where in Semitic, I do not think it unreasonable to assume a Semitic origin for this root.

ḳəbe 'butter'   :   Gz. *ḳəbʾ*, Tna. *ḳəbʾi* ~ *ḳəbʿi*, Arg. *ḳəbi* ~ *ḳəwi*, Gaf.
                                            ḳəbʷä, Ch.Sod. *ḳəb*, Enn. *ʾəb*, etc.
The root *ḳbʾ* occurs throughout Ethiopian Semitic in the sense of 'anoint, grease, butter',
etc., but lacks any truly satisfactory formal and semantic cognates in the rest of Semitic.
Formally compatible roots occur in Heb. *qābaʿ* 'fix, insert' and Akk. *qabû* 'say', but the
semantic disparity between these and the Eth.Sem. root militates against any reasonable
correlation of the roots. Nevertheless, as in the case of the previous item, the root
shape is in accordance with the standard Semitic patterns and there is no reason to refute
the likelihood of a Semitic origin.

ḳʷanṭa 'dried meat'   :   Tna.Arg.Sod. *ḳʷanṭa*, Har. *ḳānṭa*, Te. *ḳanṭa*, Gaf. *ḳunčä*
                                            'raw meat', Z. *ḳʷonṭa* 'dried fish'.
A loan from E. Cushitic, cf. Afar *ḳʷanṭaa*, Galla *ḳanṭa*, Kambatta *ḳoonṭá*.

ḳʷäräsä 'break bread'   :   Tna. *ḳʷäräsä*, Har. *ḳoräsa* 'take a portion of s.th.'.
Throughout Gurage the root *krs* > *kns* has the meaning 'begin'. Semitic, cf. Akk. *qaräšu*
'split', n. *qiršu* 'slice of bread', Heb. *qereš* 'plank'.

mar 'honey'   :   Gz.Tna.Te. *mäʿar* 'honeycomb, honey', Har. *mār* 'wax', Ch.
                                            mar 'beeswax', Go. *mʷär*, etc.

Most of the other Eth.Sem. languages preserve the common Semitic term for 'honey': Har. *dūs*, Arg. *dims*, Gaf. *dəbsä*; this root also occurs in epigraphic Ge'ez (see Drewes 1962:34 and 55) as *dbs*, but is replaced in "classical" Ge'ez by *mäᶜar*. The original meaning of this item was 'honeycomb' from which the various meanings 'honey', 'wax', etc., have been derived in the modern languages. Semitic, cf. Heb. *yaᶜar ~ yaᶜrā* 'honeycomb'.

məsa 'midday meal'   :   Gz.Tna. *məsaḥ*.

Common Semitic *mšḥ*, cf. Gz. *mässəḥa* 'annoint', Heb. *māšaḥ*, Ar. *masaḥa*.

mäsob 'basket table'

So, too, in Gz.Tna.Te.Arg.Wl.Z.Gaf. Praetorius (1879:159) connected this with the Semitic root *ṯwb*, in particular with Ar. *maṯāb* 'locus in quem homines disgregati conveniunt'; note also Mod.Heb. *mᵉsibbā* 'social gathering'. One hesitates to relate such a concrete term as *mäsob* with the abstract and general sense of *mᵉsibbā* and *maṯāb*, though the idea is attractive and there can be little formal objection to it.

məṭad 'griddle'   :   Har.Sl. *məṭād*, Arg.Sod.Wl.Z. *məṭad*, Ch.Gy. *mədad*, etc.

The root of this S. Ethiopian item occurs in its simple form in the Amh. verb *ṭadä* 'cook on a griddle'. This might tentatively be compared with Gz. *šhd ~ šᶜd* (*ᵓašhadä* 'soften, rub with oil').

səga 'meat'   :   Gz. *šəga*, Tna.Te. *səga*.

Of Agaw origin, cf. Bil. *síxa*, Kem. *síya*. The other Eth.Sem. languages preserve the common Semitic root *bšr*: Har. *bäsär*, Gaf. *bäsärä*, etc.

šəro 'mashed chickpeas'   :   Tna.Sl.Wl.Z. *šəro*, Har. *šūr*, Gaf. *šərä*, Ch. *šərwä*, etc.

Of East Cushitic origin, cf. Galla *šuuro*, Sid. *šúro*, Tembaro *šurú*.

ṭäbbäsä 'fry'   :   Gz.Tna. *ṭäbäsä*, Har. *ṭäbäsa*, Ch. *ṭäbäsäm*, etc.

Probably Semitic, cf. Ar. *ṭabbasa* 'smear'.

ṭäǧǧ 'honey wine'   :   Har. *ṭäǧǧi*, Ch. *ṭäǧ* (a loan from Amh?), *däg'ä* 'honeyed
                                 water', End. *degä*, etc.

Possible cognates for this item occur throughout the Omotic languages: Kaffa *dooǒoo*, Šinaša *dáwǒoo*, Moča *dõᵔǒo*, Anfillo *dawǒõ*, meaning 'beer'. In Sidamo and Qabena there occur forms similar to Amharic *ṭäǧǧ* (*ṭaǧǧ(e)* and *ṭaǧǧita*, respectively), but these look like loans from Amharic; other Sidamo languages use a different item, cf. Had. *dikasa*. The N. Ethiopian languages have Gz.Tna. *mes*, which has cognates in Agaw: cf. Bil. *míd*, Kem. *míz*, etc., and in Saho *mees* (a loan?).

ṭälla 'beer'   :   Ch. *ṭälla*.

Perhaps also to be related to the Amharic item are Tna. *čəḷḳa* 'bira di linseme', Te. *səḷḳa*. These last two items can be readily derived from the Agaw root of the same meaning: Bil.

ṣälaxâ, Kem. ṣälag̃ ~ ṣᵊlag̃, Dembiya ṣalayā, Quara ṣelaña, S.Ag. ṣᵊlg̃í; the Khamir term
ž̌ᵊlla, on the other hand, is more likely a loan from Amharic than an inherited Agaw item.
The origin of Amh. ṭälla is almost certainly to be sought amongst these Agaw forms and
their developments in Ethiopian Semitic, Tna. č̣ᵊlḳa and Te. ṣᵊlḳa.

ṭᵊre 'raw, fresh'   :   Gz.Te. ṭᵊray, Tna.Sl.Wl.Z. ṭᵊre, Har. ṭiɾi, Sod. ṭᵊɾi.
Common Semitic ṭry.

wätät 'milk'   :   Possibly related are Gaf. ᵊ{ʷatä, M. {ʷat, Go. ä{ʷat, Sod.
                                              ä{at.
The source of these and the Amharic item cannot be identified. Most of the other Ethiopian
Semitic languages have forms derived from the root ḥlb, cf. Amh. ayb 'cheese, curdled milk';
Tigrinya, however, has an item of Agaw origin, ṣäba.

wäṭ 'stew'   :   Arg. wäṭᵊh, Har. wäṭi, Gaf. wäṣä, Ch. wäṭ, etc.
This is derived from the Eth.Sem. root wṣḥ 'pour' (Gz. ᵓawṣᵊha) of Semitic origin, cf. Heb.
yāṣaq (?).

zäyt 'oil'   :   Gz.Har. zäyt, Tna. zäyti.
Both Nöldeke (1910:42) and Leslau (1957a:235) regard this as a loan, the one from Aramaic,
the other from Arabic. Could it not equally well be an inherited Semitic item?

2.5. THE HOUSE

aṭᵊɾ 'fence'   :   Gz. ḥaṣᵊɾ, Tna. ḥaṣuɾ, Har. ḥuṭuɾ, Arg. hanṭiɾo, Gaf.
                                              ᵊṣᵊɾ, etc.

Common Semitic ḥṣɾ.

bäɾɾ 'gate, door'   :   Tna. bäɾɾi 'passage', Te. bäɾ 'outside', Har. bäɾi 'gate',
                                              Arg.Gaf. bäɾ, etc.
Semitic, cf. ESA. bɾ 'gate', Akk. baɾaɾu 'explore'.

bet 'house'   :   Gz.Tna.Te.Ch. bet, Arg. bed.
Common Semitic byt. Several other S.Eth. languages use a different term, which is probably
also of Semitic origin: cf. Har. gäɾ (Sem. gwɾ).

däǧ 'gate, entrance'   :   Gz. dede; probably also Tna. dägä by pseudocorrection of
                                              d(>ǧ) to g.
Gz. dede is usually explained as being related to the common Semitic root dl-t (Heb. delet,
etc.).

gədgədda 'wall' [16]   :   Gz. gädgäd ~ gädägäd, Tna. gidgidda, Har. gidägäd ~
                                              digädag, Z. gədgədda.
Probably of Cushitic (East Cushitic) origin, cf. Galla girgida 'mud-wall, flat-roofed house',
Som. gidãar, gidaangid, Kambatta gəggədda.

goǧo 'grass hut'   :   Har. gōǧǧo, Arg. gonžo, Gaf. goǧo, etc.
Of East Cushitic origin, cf. Galla, Som., Sid. goǧo.

käddänä 'thatch' (vb)   :   Gz.Tna. kädänä 'cover', Te. kädna, Har. xädäna 'thatch',
                                              Ch. xätäräm, etc.
Throughout S. Ethiopian this item has been specialized to mean 'cover a roof with grass',
i.e. 'thatch'. Semitic, cf. Akk. kadânu 'protect', Datina Ar. mukdana 'oven cover'.

koṭ 'loft'   :   Har. kōṭ, Gy.Sod.Go. kʷäṭä, Ch. kʷätä, etc.
Of Sidamo origin, cf. Tembaro koṭa.

mədəǧǧa 'hearth'   :   Arg. əmdəǧǧa, Har. aɟdiǧa, Wl. midaǧǧä, Ch. məǧača, Go.
                                              mʷəǧaǧǧa, etc.
This S.Eth. item is almost certainly an instrumental noun from the common Eth.Sem. root ndd
'burn', i.e. *məndə/adya > mədəǧǧa, etc. This root ndd has no certain cognates in the
rest of Semitic. However, the root shape is in accordance with Semitic patterns, as is the
nominal derivative *məndəd-ya, etc.

mändär 'village'   :   Ch. mädär 'place'.
Praetorius (1879:28) first explained this as a nominal derivative of the root ḥdr 'spend
the night', i.e. maḥdär (Gz. 'dwelling place'), which is almost certainly right. The first
stage in the development to Amh. mändär would be *madär, which could result in mändär
after the insertion of the "intrusive" nasal; for other examples where -aC- becomes -änC-
(and not -anC-) cf. wänz 'river' from *waz (root wḥz), zändəro 'last year' from *za+dəro,
perhaps. On the other hand, one is intrigued to notice the large number of modern South
Arabian and dialect Arabic forms with an almost identical shape to Amh. mändär and not
incompatible ranges of meaning: Soq. bēndher 'port', Mehri mandâr, Hadrami Ar. bandar,
Omani Ar. bender, etc. (Leslau 1938:89).

məsäso 'centre pole'
Probably from a root ʾss, i.e. *məʾsäs-o, to which Ar. ʾassasa 'found', Syr. ʾāšiyātā
'column', Heb. ʾāšeyā, and Akk. asītu 'tower' may be compared.

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[16]Especially a wall made of wattle and daub.

3. THE SEMANTIC FIELD "THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT"

The subdivisions under this heading are 3.1) natural phenomena, 3.2) flora, and 3.3) fauna. In this semantic field there are necessarily items of particular local occurrence, as well as more universal items. The names of locally restricted items, especially plant and animal names, could reasonably be expected to be of non-Semitic origin, borrowed from the indigenous population wherever these items were unknown and new to the incoming Semitic speakers. Nevertheless, this is not necessarily always the case; an existing lexical item may have its semantic range extended or modified to encompass the new object. This is the case with Eth.Sem. (Gz.) zə³b 'hyena', the cognates of which in other Semitic languages mean 'wolf' or 'jackal'. Alternatively, existing morphs may be used to create a new form to describe a new object, as Amh. ḳäččəne 'giraffe' (Eth.Sem. root ḳtn 'be thin'), Gz. ³arwe ḥariś > Amh. awraris 'rhinoceros' (lit. 'rough-skinned beast'), and so on. However, the majority of names of specifically Ethiopian (or African) plants and animals in Amharic is of non-Semiitc origin, whereas general terms like awre 'wild animal', wäf 'bird', konf 'wing', ḳänd 'horn', etc., are of inherited Semitic origin. Similarly, the names of many creatures that must already have been familiar to Semitic speakers from the other side of the Red Sea are Semitic: ǧəb 'hyena' (but 'wolf' or 'jackal' in Asiatic Semitic), anbäsa 'lion', näbər 'leopard', əbab 'snake', nəb 'bee', zəmb 'fly', etc. This is essentially the same pattern as was discussed above in the field of the domestic environment, namely that the general terms are Semitic, but the names of specific objects, plants and animals, are often non-Semitic. Out of some 42 animal names studied here, 19 (approximately 45%) are of non-Semitic origin. Of these nineteen, most have cognates only in S.Ethiopian languages: amora 'bird of prey', azzo 'crocodile', zähon 'elephant', kärkärro 'wild pig', kura 'crow', zəngäro 'baboon'. Those common to North and South Ethiopian, including Ge'ez, are asa 'fish', gəgra 'guinea fowl', sägäno 'ostrich', and šərärit 'spider'; perhaps also ḳok 'partridge'. Occurring throughout modern Ethiopian Semitic, but not recorded in Ge'ez, is gumare 'hippopotamus'.

Amongst the twenty-three items of Semitic origin, of special interest are Amh. ayt 'mouse', əbab 'snake', and təl 'worm'. The last two, əbab and təl, have cognates throughout S. Ethiopian but not in N. Ethiopian, where a variety of items of different origins occur. Amh. ayt has only one Eth.Semitic cognate in Arg. hent, whilst a different Semitic term occurs in the rest of S. Ethiopian (Har. fu³ur ~ fur, etc.) and N. Ethiopian employs a non-Semitic term (Gz. ³anṣewa, etc.). In these three instances, therefore, S. Ethiopian preserves a Semitic root not found in N. Ethiopian.

Two terms for apparently different kinds of (wild) pig, asama and ərya, are both formed from inherited Semitic roots (hśm 'be hateful' and ḥrw 'dig', respectively), whilst the common Semitic term ḫ(n)zr does not occur in modern Ethiopian Semitic. This would appear, perhaps, to reflect the substitution of the name of a taboo animal by a descriptive term, as in the famous case of the name of the bear in some Indo-European languages. The taboo status of the pig is, of course, a well known Semitic trait (Hommel 1879:319). It is possible, too, that the use of Cushitic terms for 'fish' throughout Ethiopian Semitic (Gz. ᶜaśa, etc., Har. tuläm, etc.) and the absence of any inherited Semitic term here might be due to a similar cause, the taboo in this case being a Cushitic feature.

Amongst the few specific plant names studied here,[17] the proportion of non-Semitic terms to Semitic is greater than amongst animal names. Much of the flora of the Ethiopian highlands would perhaps be new to Semitic speakers and consequently, as the lexicon here suggests, the terms for these new plants were readily taken over and adapted from indigenous

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[17] I have dealt here only with a small number of plant names, mostly trees. This is not the place to present a detailed etymological dictionary of flora, or, indeed, anything else. Only those items that are widespread, prominent, or significant in cultural terms have been discussed.

languages: exx.: *gʷrar* 'acacia', *kʷälkʷäl* 'euphorbia', *kärkäha* 'bamboo', *šola* 'fig tree', *wäyra* 'olive tree'. A glance at a list of plant names common to most other Semitic languages (see Fronzaroli 1968:267-303) shows an almost total absence of Ethiopian cognates. This is because many of the principal Asiatic Semitic languages are, in the most general terms, native to a fairly consistent ecological area, or group of areas; the plants typical of this region are, however, not native to the Ethiopian highlands: exx. 'oak' (Heb. *ʾallōn*), 'terebinth' (Ar. *buṭm*), 'willow' (Ar. *ḥilāf*), 'tamerisk' (Heb. *ʾẹšel*), 'date palm' (Ar. *tamr*), and so on. The only typical, native tree of the Ethiopian highlands with a probable Semitic name is the 'juniper', *ṭəd*. On the other hand, as was the case with animal names, general terms are nearly all Semitic: exx. *abäba* 'flower', *fre* 'fruit', *sar* 'grass', *ənčät* 'wood', *kəṭäl* 'leaf', *ləṭ* 'bark', etc. A notable exception in Amharic is *zaf* 'tree', which is of Agaw origin. The Semitic term survives in most Ethiopian Semitic languages both in the sense of 'tree' and 'wood', but is restricted in Amharic to the latter sense (*ənčät*), a feature which is shared with Harari, Argobba, and Gafat.

In the field of natural phenomena, i.e. geophysical, meteorological, and astronomical terms, the proportion of Semitic terms is slightly higher than in the other two subdivisions of the field of the natural environment; at a conservative estimate (that is, counting only those items of safe Semitic etymology), 34 out of a total of 57 (approximately 60%) are of Semitic origin. The non-Semitic items are not contained within a particular semantic category, but range from items like *čäräka* 'moon' to *wəha* 'water', from *čəka* 'mud' to *däga* 'highlands', and so on. Only one of these thirteen non-Semitic items is common to all of Ethiopian Semitic, namely *dämmäna* 'cloud'. Common to S. Ethiopian only are *čäräka* 'moon', *kän* 'day', and *wəha* 'water', though in the case of all three the original Semitic terms do survive in some S. Ethiopian languages: cf. *wär* 'month' in Amharic, Har. *mäʾaltu* ~ *mältu* 'day' (Gz. *mäʿalt*, *wəʿl*), and Har. *mī* 'water'. The remaining non-Semitic items are typically of restricted, local occurrence, like *čəka* 'mud' found in Tigrinya, Argobba, Gafat, and Mäskan, or *dängəya* ~ *dəngay* 'stone' occurring in the same languages plus Muhər, or *ṭis* ~ *čəs* 'smoke' found in N. Ethiopian, Amharic and Harari.

What conclusions, if any, can be drawn from the presence of non-Semitic items in the field of natural phenomena? Obviously the explanation that served for plant and animal names is not appropriate here. Items like 'moon', 'water', 'day', 'stone', etc., are the kind of vocabulary that can be justifiably classified as "basic", in accordance with the principals outlined at the beginning of this paper. Insofar as "basic" vocabulary tends to be more conservative than other areas of the lexicon, the occurrence of these originally loan items here could be said to reflect the degree to which non-Semitic and Semitic speaking peoples, i.e. their languages, have fused in the development of Amharic. The majority of these non-Semitic items is of Agaw origin: *ṭis* ~ *čəs* 'smoke', *däga* 'highlands', *dämmäna* 'cloud', *dängəya* 'stone', *kʷälla* 'lowlands', *wəha* 'water' (probably), whilst others like *čəka* 'mud', *čäräka* 'moon', and *kän* 'day' are more difficult to attribute to a particular Cushitic language or language group.

3.1. NATURAL PHENOMENA

afär 'soil, dust'   : Har.Ch. *afär*, Gaf. *afärä*, etc.
Common Semitic *ʿpr* ~ *ʾpr*.

aläm 'world'   : Gz.Tna. *ʿaläm*.
Common Semitic *ʿlm*.

amba 'flat-topped mountain' :   Tna. *ᵓamba* ~ *ᵓəmba*, Gaf. *amba*, *ambəɫaǧä* 'mountain'.
Of Agaw origin: cf. Bil.Kem. *amba*, Khm. *aba*, S.Ag. *ambe*.

amäd 'ashes'   :   Gz.Tna.Te.Har. *ḥamäd*, Arg. *hamäd*, Ch. *amäd*, End. *awänd*, etc.
The root *ḥmd* occurs throughout Ethiopian Semitic and may be compared with two Arabic roots
despite the disparity of the initial laryngal: Ar. *hmd* 'cool off, die down (of fire)' and
ḫmd 'be extinguished'.

amäday 'hoar-frost'   :   Gz. *ḥamäda*, Tna. *ḥamäday* 'dusty atmospheric condition', Te.
                                      ḥamda 'hoar-frost', Har. *ḥamadāy*, Gaf. *ᵊmädaǧ*; probably
                                      also Ch. *amädaʱ* 'cold', etc.
This is almost certainly an extension of the root *ḥmd* seen in the previous item.

amät 'year'   :   Gz.Tna. *ᶜamät*, Har.Sod. *amät*, etc.
Common Semitic *ᶜm*.

ašäwa 'sand'   :   Tna. *ḥašäwa*; also Gz. *ḫoṣa*, Tna.Te. *ḥoṣa*, Te. *ḥaṣhəṣ*.
The form of the Amharic and the first Tigrinya item suggests that this might be taken from
Agaw: Kem.Khm. *ašäwa*, Quara *ašawa*. The other Eth. Sem. forms are more likely of inherited
Semitic origin: cf. Heb. *ḥāṣāṣ* 'gravel', Ar. *ḥaṣan*, Akk. *ḥiṣṣu*, Soq. *ḥāṣaḥāṣihin*. The
Agaw forms may in turn be either taken from Ethiopian Semitic, or may be independent re-
flexes of a common Afroasiatic item: cf. Bil. *quša*, Beja *haaš*, Afar *ᶜiddê* (?), Som. *ᶜiid*,
Kaffa *ḳaačo*, etc.

ᵊsat 'fire'   :   Gz.Te. *ᵓᵊsat*, Har. *isāt* ~ *ᵊsāt*, Arg. *ᵊsad*, Ch.Go. *ᵊsat*,
                                      Gaf. *ᵊsatä*, Sod. *äsat*, etc.
Common Semitic *ᵓš(-t)*.

bäga 'dry season'   :   Praetorius (1879:140) derived this from **bä-ḥəga* 'im
                                      Sommer' (Gz. *bäḥagay*).
Such an etymology does not seem unlikely and is, indeed, supported to some extent by the
form of the corresponding verb root in Amharic, *baǧǧä*, where the palatalized *ǧ* indicates
an original final radical *y* and the vowel *a* of the first syllable could be explained as due
to a lost second radical laryngal, i.e. **bḥgy*, a denominative derivation of *bäḥagay*. The
comparison made by Leslau (1963:49) with Har. *bäyᵊg*, M.Go. *beg* 'rainy season' (*sic*) is
surely incorrect. Rather, Amh. *bälg* 'little rains' should be compared with these. The
root of *bä-ḥagay*, etc., would appear to be Semitic: cf., perhaps, Heb. *ḥāg* 'feast day',
Syr. *ḥaggā*, and perhaps also Ar. *ḥiǧga* 'year'.

bäʱʱa 'be light'   :   Gz.Te. *bäʱha*, Tna. *bäʱhe*, Gaf. *bäʱä*; the other S. Ethiopian
                                      languages presuppose a root form **bʱʱ* beside *bʱh*: cf.
                                      Har. *bäʱa*, Ch. *banäm*, Sl. *bäʱe*, Sod. *baʱʱäm*, etc.
Both patterns occur amongst the Semitic cognates: Heb. *bāhaʱ*, Ar. *bahaʱa* and *baʱiha*.

bärrädä 'be cold'   : Gz. *bärädä*, Te. *bärda*, Har. *bäräda*, Arg. *bärräda*, etc.

A nominal derivative (Gz. *bäräd*, Amh. *bärädo*, Ch. *bäräǧǧä*, etc.) occurs throughout Ethiopian Semitic with the meaning 'hail'. Common Semitic *brd*.

bäräha 'desert'   : Tna. *bäräxa*.

A close formal cognate occurs in the Bilin toponym *bāraǧā ~ baraǧā* 'Barka' (Gz. *bärka*). Perhaps the proper noun has given rise to the common noun here, if not *vice-versa*.

bärräḵä 'flash'(lightning) : Gz. *bäräḵä*, Tna. *bäräxä*.

A nominal derivative in the sense of 'lightning' occurs throughout Eth.Sem.: cf. Gz. *mäbräḵ*, Tna. *bärḵi*, Har. *bərāḵ*, Z. *bərrəḵat*, etc. Common Semitic *brq*.

bar 'sea, lake'   : Gz. *baḥr*, Tna. *baḥri*, Te.Har. *bäḥar*, Ch.Sod. *bar*, etc.

Semitic, cf. ESA. *bḥr*, Ar. *baḥr*.

čəḵa 'mud'   : Tna. *čəxa*, Arg.Ms. *čəḵa*, Gaf. *čəḵä*, W.Gur. *čəḵara*.

This item is almost certainly of Cushitic origin, though the precise source cannot be readily identified: cf. Bil. *däraqʷa*, Khm. *ḥoqʷa*, Quara *daxʷa* 'clay', Afar *ḥagʷa*, Som. *ḍōoqo* 'turbid water', Galla *ḍoke ~ ḍokke*, etc. A different version of the same root (Som. *ḍōobo* 'mud', Sid. *obbaa*) occurs as a loan in Har. *čiba* 'mud for building houses'. A possible extension of the same root occurs in Har. *čēḵa* 'stink', and Tna. *ṣäyyäxä* 'spoil'.

čällämä 'be dark'   : Gz. *ṣälmä*, Tna. *ṣällämä*, Te. *ṣälma*, Har. *čeläma*, Arg.
                                    čelläma, Gaf. *ṣillämä*, E. *ṭännäma*, etc.

Throughout S. Ethiopian this verb follows the B-type pattern, as in Tigrinya, as against A-type in Ge'ez and Tigre. Common Semitic *ẓlm*.

čäräḵa 'moon'   : Har. *čäräḵa* 'moonlight', Arg. *čäräḵa* 'moon', Gaf. *ṣäräḵä*,
                            Z. *ṭərḵa*, M.Go. *ṭärrakka*, Ch.Gy. *ṭänaka*, Sod. *därrakka*, etc.

This item occurs only in S. Ethiopian, where two patterns predominate: **ṭäräḵa* and **ṭäraḵa*. The only convincing likely cognate is Beja *teriǧ* 'month'. Reinisch quotes a Quara item *zärkā*, but this looks like a loan from Amharic; the usual Agaw term for 'moon' or 'month' is **arb-a*. It is, perhaps, interesting to note that a similar form occurs in certain Sudanic languages: Kunama *teera*, Mursi *tàagi*, etc., both meaning 'moon', though how these fit in with the Cushitic and Ethiopian Semitic items, if, indeed, they are connected, is not clear (see Dolgopol'skiy 1973:48-9). The Semitic term *wrḫ* survives in Amharic and other S. Ethiopian languages in the sense of 'month'.

čəs 'smoke'   : Gz.Tna.Te. *ṭis*, Tna. also *ṭiš*, Har. *čəs*.

Of Agaw origin, cf. Bil. *tədä*, Khm. *ṭiya*, Kem. *təza*.

däga 'highlands'   : Tna. *däga*, Har. *dāg* 'elevated ground', Gaf. *däga*, Ch.
                            dägago 'high'.

Cushitic, perhaps Agaw: cf. Bil. *dag* 'summit, above', Khm. *dig*, Kem. *day*; note also Afar *daga* 'mountainous region', Galla *daaga* 'escarpment'.

dämmäna 'cloud'   : Gz.Tna. *dämmäna*, Tna. also *däbäna*, Gaf. *dämmänä*, Har. *dāna*, Sl. *däbäna*, Sod. *dabäna*, Ch. *dabära*, etc.

This item is almost certainly of Cushitic origin, though again it is not possible to identify a particular source. Close formal cognates occur in Bil. *dəmna*, Khm. *dimena*, though these may well be taken from Ethiopian Semitic. Other Cushitic forms are: Galla *duməsa*, Hadiya *duuba*, *duubančoo*, etc.

dängɔya ~ dɔngay 'stone'   : Tna. *dängʷälla* 'rock', Arg. *dingay*, Gaf. *dänga*, M. *dɔngˆäla*, Ms. *dɔngˆälä*.

Agaw, cf. Bil. *dängʷɔra*, Khm. *dəgʷɔra*. The N. Ethiopian languages and all the S. Ethiopian languages, with the exception of Amharic, Argobba, and Gafat, preserve the common Semitic item *ʔbn*.

dur 'forest'   : Gz. *däbr* 'mountain', Tna. *däbri*, Te. *däbər*, Gaf. *dəbrä* 'forest', Ch.Gy.Sod. *dəbər*, End. *dɔ̄r*, etc.

Note that all the N.Eth. forms derive from the pattern *däbr* and mean 'mountain', whilst the S.Eth. forms derive from *dəbr* and mean 'forest'. Semitic *dbr*.

fässäsä 'flow'   : Gz. *fässäsä*, *täfasäsä* 'pour out, gush forth', Tna. *fäsäsä* 'flow', Ch. *täfasäsäm* 'be spilled'.

From this root *fss* are derived several nominal forms such as Amh. *fäsaš* 'stream', Ch. *fäsäs* 'rainstorm'. Semitic, cf. Heb. *pāšā*, *pāsā* 'spread out', Ar. *faša*, ESA. *fsʔ* 'aquae deductio'.

gum 'mist'   : Ch. *guna*, Go. *gum*; note also Gz. *gime*, Tna. *gimä*, Te. *gimat*.

Praetorius (1879:67) considered these forms to be pseudocorrections for **ǧym*, cf. Ar. *ǧaym*, *ǧayn*. However, though this is not impossible, there are widespread Cushitic items formally closer to Ethiopian Semitic *gum-/gim-*: cf. Beja *giim*, Sid. *gomiččo*, Kambatta *gooma*; note also Omotic, Kaffa *gumoo*, Moča *gumo*, Wolamo *gumaa*, etc.

kokäb 'star'   : Gz.Te.Arg.Sod.Z. *kokäb*, Tna. *koxob*, Gaf. *kokobä*, Ch. *xʷäxʷäb*, Gy. *xʷäxʷäm*, etc. Common Semitic *kbkb* > *kwkb*.

kɔrämt 'rainy season'   : Gz. *kɔrämt*, Tna. *kɔrämti*, Te. *käräm*, Har. *kirmi*, Arg. *krämt*, Gaf. *krämtä*, Sl.Wl. *kärm*, Z. *hɔrɔm*, Ch.Gy. *xɔrɔm* 'year', Ms. *hɔrɔm*, etc.

Forms with the suffix *-t* occur in Ge'ez, Tigrinya, Amharic, Argobba, and Gafat; otherwise the patterns **kɔrm*, **kärm*, and **käräm* occur. The root *krm* is Semitic, cf. Ar. *karuma* 'rain, be generous'.

kʷälla 'lowlands'   : Tna. *kʷälla*, Te. *käläkkɔl*, Gaf. *kʷäla*.

Guidi (1901: col.234) related this to the verb root *kʷälla* 'roast', but a more likely ex-
planation is that this is of Agaw origin: cf. Bil. *qʷala* 'river, valley', Khm. *aqʷâl*, Kem.
kʷɔra.

| *kän* 'day' | : | Arg. *käna*, Gaf.Sod. *känä*, Ch. *kärä*, M.Ms. *känä*, Enn. *k̃ãrã̃*, etc. |

Praetorius (1879:142) tried to derive this from the root *knᶜ* 'be straight', i.e. 'Hochstehen
der Sonne'. However, there is a small number of Cushitic forms that may be compared:
Bil.Kem. *kʷara* 'sun', Khm. *kʷära*, and perhaps Som. *qorrah*, Rendille *hura*, also meaning
'sun'. The N. Ethiopian and the other S. Ethiopian languages preserve an item of Semitic
origin: Gz. *mäᶜalt* (*wᶜl*).

| *let* 'night' | : | Gz. *lelit*, Tna. *läyti*, Te. *lali*, Har. *läyli ~ lēli*, Gaf. *litä*. |

Common Semitic *lyl(-t)*.

| *meda* 'plain' | : | Praetorius (1879:26) derived this from **mäheda* 'Ort wo man geht' (Amh. *meda* 'go'), citing an Argobba item *hed* with the same meaning as Amh. *meda*. |

This Argobba term does not, however, appear to be recorded elsewhere. On the other hand,
there is a formal resemblance between Amh. *meda* and Har. *mēdān*, also meaning 'plain'. This
latter item appears to be a loan from Ar. *maydān* 'square, open place'.

| *mɔdɔr* 'earth' | : | Gz. *mɔdr*, Tna. *mɔdri*. Semitic, cf. ESA. *mdr*, Akk. *midru* 'type of soil', Aram. *medrā* 'clod'. |

| *mokä* 'be warm, hot' | : | Gz. *mokä*, Tna. *moxä*, Te. *moka*, Har. *mōka*, Ch.Gy. *mʷäkäm*, Sod. *makäm*, Wl. *moke*, etc. |

This common Ethiopian Semitic root *mwk* has no satisfactory cognates elsewhere in Semitic;
Dillmann (1865:col.202) tried to relate it to various Arabic roots, *wᶜk* 'be red hot', *ɔkk* and
ᶜkk 'be hot'(of weather). These Arabic items are plainly formally remote from the Ethiopian
Semitic root. It is not, of course, inconceivable that both *mwk* and *wᶜk* are ultimately
developments of the same primitive root or root nucleus, but as it is not possible to
relate them with any degree of certainty, the Ethiopian item must remain "unidentified" as
to origin. However, it can be said yet again that, although the Ethiopian root lacks
adequate cognates in the rest of Semitic, its root shape is in accord with Semitic patterns.

| *mɔnč̌* 'spring' | : | Gz. *mänkɔᶜ*, Tna. *mɔnč̌i* (a loan from Amh., as the form shows), Arg. *mɔnč̌*, Gaf. *mɔnč̌ä*. |

The root is *nkᶜ* (Gz. *näkᶜa* 'burst'), to which Ar. *naqaᶜa* 'pour out' may be compared.

| *mäšša* 'become evening' | : | Gz. *mäsyä*, Tna. *mäsäyä*, Te. *mäsa*, Har. *mäša*, Ch. *mäšäm*, etc. |

Many languages also have a derived nominal form: Gz. *mɔšet*, Amh. *mɔšät*, Arg. *mušed*, Gaf.Ch.
mɔšätä, etc., all meaning 'evening'. Common Semitic, cf. Ar. *masāɔ*, Akk. *mūšu* 'night'.

mata 'evening'   : Gaf. *mᵕbet.*

This is derived from the root *byt* (Gz. *betä* 'pass the night'), as the form of the Gafat
cognate shows, and not from *ᵓtw* 'return', as suggested by Praetorius (1879:159; see also
Cohen 1939:413). Thus **mᵕbet-a > mata.*

näddädä 'burn'   : Gz. *näddä ~ nädädä*, Tna. *nädädä*, Te. *nädda*, Har. *nädäda*,
                                       Gy. *nätädä*, etc.

Several other Eth.Sem. languages employ a root related to Amh. *täḳaṭṭälä* of the same mean-
ing (Tna. *täḵaṣälä*, Arg. *ᵓḳḳaṭṭäla*, Gaf. *täḳaṭṭälä*). Both roots, *ndd* and *ḳṣl*, are per-
fectly in accord with Semitic root patterns, but lack cognates outside Ethiopian Semitic.

näṣas ~ nᵊṣas 'wind'   : Gz. *näṣas*, Tna. *näṣas ~ nᵊṣas*, Arg.Gaf. *nᵊṣas*, Ch. *ᵊmṣas*,
                                       etc.

Common Semitic *npš*.

nägga 'dawn' (vb)   : Gz. *nägha*, Tna. *näghe*.

The nominal derivative occurs widely throughout Eth.Sem.: Gz. *nägh* 'dawn, morning', Amh.
näg, nägä 'tomorrow', *nᵊgat* 'dawn', Gaf.Arg. *näg* 'tomorrow', Ch. *nägä*, Gz. *nᵊghat* 'dawn',
Tna. *nᵊgaho*, and so on. Common Semitic *ngh*.

ḥägga 'freeze, congeal'   : Gz. *ḥägᶜa*, Tna. *ḥägᵓe*, Te. *ḥägᵓa*, Har. *ḥagaᵓa*, Sod.
                                       äḥäggam, Ch. *näkam*, E. *näggam*, etc.

Semitic, cf. Heb. *ḥāgaᶜ* 'be benumbed, congealed'.

šämay 'sky'   : Gz.Tna.Gaf. *šämay*, Te. *šämaᵓ*, Arg.Har. *šämi*, Ch. *šäme*.

Common Semitic *šmy*. The Tigre item, however, looks more like a loan from Ar. *šamāᵓ* than an
inherited Ethiopian Semitic form.

tärara 'mountain'

There appear to be no formal cognates of this item in the rest of Ethiopian Semitic; a
variety of forms occur elsewhere, the majority of which is probably of non-Semitic origin:
Gz. *däbr* (cf. *dur*, above), Tna. *ᵓᵊmba* (cf. *amba*, above), Har. *šäri*, Gaf. *ṣiggä*, Ch. *kʷäto*,
Arg. *gubba*, etc. One wonders whether Amh. *tärara* might be connected with the common
Semitic root *tll*: cf. Ar. *tall* 'hill', Aram. *tᵉllᵊlā* 'high', Heb. *tᵉl, tālūl*, Akk. *tillu.*

ṭäbba 'dawn' (vb)   : Gz. *ṣäbḥa*, Tna. *ṣäbḥe*, Gaf. *ṣäbbä.*

The nominal derivative occurs throughout Eth.Sem.: cf. Gz. *ṣᵊbaḥ*, Amh. *ṭwat*, Arg. *ṭᵊwwah*,
Go. *ṭᵊbä*, Z. *ṭᵊbbᵊ*, etc. Common Semitic *ṣbḥ.*

ṭäl ~ ṭᵊl 'dew'   : Gz. *ṭäll*, Gaf. *aṣᵊl*, Te. *ṭäla* 'be wet'.
Semitic, cf. Heb. *ṭal.*

ṭəla 'shade, shadow'   :   Gz. ṣəlalot, Tna.Te. ṣəlal, Har. čaya, Arg. ṭəla, Gaf.
                                  čəlayä, M. ṭəle, Ch.Gy. ṭərar, Sl. čäl, etc.

The Eth.Sem. root is ṣll, of which the final radical l is lost in Amharic (and Argobba)
through palatalization: l > y > φ. Common Semitic ẓll.

ṭay 'sun'   :   Gz. ẓähay, Tna. ṣähay, Arg. čəhed, Gy. čäyät, Ch. čet, etc.

Amharic is the only S. Ethiopian language with the root form, without the suffix -t. Several
other S. Ethiopian languages use different roots: cf. Gaf. aymərä, Sod. yimər (cf. Gz.
ʾamir); Har. ir, Sl.Wl. ayr, Z. arit, Go. aret (cf. Gz. ʾer) (see Plazikowsky-Brauner 1913:
10). The root ẓhy is Semitic, cf. Ar. ḍuḥan 'forenoon', ḍaḥwa idem, ḍaḥiya 'be struck by
the rays of the sun'.

wəha 'water'   :   Arg. ähʷa, Gaf. ägä, Ch.E. əxa, End. əhə Go.Ma. äga, Sod.
                                  iga, etc; Old Amh. also wäha.

If the Amharic form represents a metathesis of *əhʷa, ähʷa, then it can be related directly
to the other S.Eth. forms and thence to Agaw: cf. Bil. ᶜaqʷ, Khm. aqʷ, Kem. axʷ, S.Ag. aǧu.
Alternatively, the Amharic item (but not the other S. Ethiopian terms) may be taken from
Sidamo: cf. Hadiya woʾo, Kambatta wuʾa, Sid. wa, waho. The N. Ethiopian languages and a
few S. Ethiopian ones preserve the common Semitic root: Gz.Tna.Te. may, Har. miy ~ mi,
Sl.Wl. mäy, Z. may.

wänz 'river'   :   Gz.Tna.Te. wəḥiz 'stream'.

The root patterning underlying the Amharic item must be *wäḥaz or *waḥəz; thence *waz >
wänz. The Eth.Sem. root wḥz is almost certainly Semitic and represents a variant development
of the same primitive root form as seen in Eth.Sem. wzᶜ 'sweat'.

wär 'month'   :   Gz. wärḫ 'moon, month', Tna. wärḥi, Te. wärəḥ, Har. wärḥi ~
                                  wäḥri 'month', Go.Sod. wärä, Sl. wäri, Z. wär, etc.

Common Semitic wrḫ.

waššā 'cave'   :   Gaf. waššä, Arg.Sod. wašša, etc.
Perhaps of Agaw origin, cf. S.Ag. waši, Quara, Kem. waša.

zännäbä 'rain' (vb)   :   Gz. zänmä, Tna. zänämä ~ zänäbä, Te. zälma, Har. zäläma,
                                  Sl.Wl. zälämä, Ch. zänäbäm, etc.

The nominal derivative also occurs widely throughout Eth.Sem.: Gz. zənam, Tna.Amh. zənam ~
zənab, Te. zəlam, Har. zənāb, Gaf. zənabʷä, Ch. zərab, etc. Common Semitic ḏnm, ḏrm.

3.2. FLORA

abäba 'flower'   :   Tna. ᶜəmbaba, Te. ᶜəmboba, Gaf.Arg.Go.Sod. abäba, Z. ambäbä.

Common Semitic: cf. Heb. ʾẹb 'bud', ʾābib 'ripening ears of grain, harvest time', Jewish
Aram. ʾibbā ~ ʾinbā 'fruit', Akk. inbu 'bud'. Forms very similar to the Eth.Sem. items occur
in several Cushitic languages: exx. Bil. amboba, Saho-Afar ambaab, Mačča Galla ababo. These
may be independent Cushitic reflexes of a shared Afroasiatic root, or they may be owed to
Ethiopian Semitic influence.

aräg 'vine, climbing plant' :   Gz. *ḥaräg* 'vine', Tna.Te. *ḥaräg* 'climbing plant'.
One wonders whether this Eth.Sem. root *ḥrg* is connected with Ar. *ḥrǧ* and Heb. *ḥrg* 'come
out', or, indeed, with Eth. *ᶜrg* 'climb'. The same root probably also occurs in Amh.
*aräng*ʷ*ade* 'green things, green', Old Amh. *harägade, haräng*ʷ*ade*, if Praetorius' (1879:93)
derivation from **haräg + g*ʷ*ɔnad* (cf. Gz. *g*ʷ*ɔnd*, Amh. *gɔnd* 'log') is correct.

ɔnčät 'wood'   :   Gz. *ᶜɔz* 'tree, wood', Tna. *ᶜɔnṣäyti ~ ᶜɔnčäyti*, Te. *ᶜɔčäy*,
                                        Har. *inči* 'wood', Arg. *inčed*, Gaf. *ɔnčä*, Ch. *äčä*, Z. *ɔnṭet*,
                                        etc.

Common Semitic *ᶜḏ*.

ɔšoh ~ šoh 'thorn'   :   Gz. *šok*, Tna. *ᵓɔšox*, Te. *šokät*, Har. *usux*, Arg. *ɔšoh*, Sod.
                                        äšok, Ch.Gy. *sox*, etc.

Common Semitic *šwk*.

fɔre 'fruit'   :   Gz.Tna.Te.Arg. *fɔre*, Har. *fɔri*, Gaf. *fɔrä*.
Common Semitic *pry*.

gɔnd 'log, trunk'   :   Gz. *g*ʷ*ɔnd*, Tna. *g*ʷ*ɔndi*, Te. *gɔnday*, Ch. *gɔnd*.
Dillmann (1865:Col. 1180) related this item to the Eth. root *gmd* 'cut, cut off', citing
Ar. *ǧmd* 'be solid, hard' as a closer semantic cognate. A regular *qɔtl* pattern nominal
derivative of *gmd* does, however, occur in Ge'ez: *gɔmd* '*Pars abscissa, segmentum*'. Of
course, *g*ʷ*ɔnd* could ultimately be from the same root, but with medial *m > n* conditioned by
the close juncture with *d* regularized and spread to other forms (*g*ʷ*ɔnnud*); **gumd > g*ʷ*ɔnd*
(root established as *g*ʷ*md*) beside *gmd*: regular *qɔtl* derivative *gɔmd*.

gɔrar 'acacia'   :   Ch. *gɔrar*, Ulbarag *gɔrarɔn*.
Perhaps from Som. *galḍol*, or some similar form.

koso 'anthelmintic plant'   :   Tna.Te. *koso*, Sod. *käbsä*.
Perhaps from an Omotic source, cf. Šinaša *kosbc*, Moča *hõ·šo*, Kaffa *kašõ*.

*k*ʷ*älk*ʷ*al ~ k*ʷ*ɔlk*ʷ*al* 'euphorbia' : Tna. *k*ʷ*älk*ʷ*al*, Te. *kɔlɔnkal*, Go. *kɔlk*ʷ*al* (?), Ulbarag
                                        *kolk*ʷ*al*.
Of Agaw origin, cf. Bil. *q*ʷ*ɔlanq*ʷ*ala*, Kem. *k*ʷ*äk*ʷ*äla*.

kärkäha ~ kɔrkäha 'bamboo' :   Tna. *karkah*, Har. *kärkaha*.
Of Agaw origin, cf. Kem. *kɔrixaxa*, S.Ag. *qerqaǵi*.

kɔṭäl 'leaf'   :   Gz. *k*ʷ*äṣl*, Tna. *k*ʷ*äṣli*, Har. *kuṭṭi*, Arg. *kɔṭal*, Gaf.
                                        kɔṭälä, M.Z. *kɔṭe*, Ch. *kɔṭär*, etc.
Semitic, cf. Ar. *qaṣala* 'mow', *qaṣīl* 'orge vert qu'on donne aux chevaux'.

ḷämḷäm 'green, fertile'   :   Gz.Tna. ḷämḷäm, Gaf. ḷämḷämʷä.

This root ḷmḷm is probably to be connected with Eth.Sem. ḷmᶜ 'prosper', ḷmḥ idem, and at the same time with ḥmḷ 'grow green'. These are all extensions and developments of the same primitive root also found in Ar. ḷamaḥa 'flash, sparkle', ḥamḷ 'fructus arboris'.

ḷaṭ 'bark'   :   Gz. ḷaḥṣ, Tna. ḷaḥṣi, Te. ḷaḥaṣ, S.Arg. ḷiḥinṭo.

Semitic, cf. Ar. ḷaḥḥaṣa 'squeeze', Heb. ḷaḥaṣ.

saʔ 'grass'   :   Gz. śaᶜʔ, Tna. saᶜʔi, Te. säᶜaʔ, Har. säʔaʔ ~ sāʔ, Arg. sīʔ, Z. sōʔ, Gaf.Sod.Wl. saʔ, Ch.Gy. säʔ, etc.

Common Semitic śᶜʔ.

saʔ 'root'   (see above under saʔ 'nerve')

šoḷa 'fig tree'   :   Har. šōbḷa, Arg. šoḷa, Sod.Go. sobḷa, Wl. sobḷä, Ch.Gy. šäbʔa, M. šäbʔya, etc.; probably also to be compared here are Gz.Tna.Te. sägḷa.

Origin unidentified.

ṭəd 'juniper'   :   Gz. ṣəhd ~ ṣəhd, Tna. ṣəhdi, Gaf. čədä, Sl.Wl. ṭid, Z. ṭəda, Ch. dät, Ms.Go. däd, etc.

Almost certainly Semitic and perhaps to be compared with Ar. ṣuᶜd 'height'.

wäyʔa ~ weʔa 'olive tree'   :   Te. wägʔe, Har.Sl.Wl.Z. wägäʔ, Ch. wayʔa, Go. weʔa.

Cushitic, cf. Bil. wäxaʔä, Kem. wäyʔa, Hadiya weʔaa. Som. wägaʔ. The development g > y is a particularly Agaw phenomenon and its presence in the Amharic item vis-à-vis Tigre, Harari, etc., suggests particular Agaw influence in the development of the Amharic item.

zaf 'tree'   :   Har. zāf 'large tree', Arg. zaf, Gaf. zafʷa.

Of Agaw origin, cf. Khm. zäf, Kem. zaf, Quara ǧafa.

3.3. FAUNA

aläḳt ~ aləḳt ~ əlḳət 'leech' :   Gz. ᶜaläḳt, Tna. ᶜaläxti, Te. ᶜaläḳ, Har. ēḳti, Sod. aläḳət, Ch.Gy. aʔäḳət, Wl. aḷčit, etc.

Common Semitic ᶜḷq-t.

amoʔa 'bird of prey'   :   Tna. ʔamoʔa, Arg. amoʔa, Ch.Sl.Wl. amäʔa, Z. amaʔa, M.Go. amʷäʔa, etc.

Unidentified.

anbäsa 'lion'   :   Gz. ᶜanbäsa ~ ʔanbäsa, Tna. ʔanbäsa, S.Arg. hambassa.

Semitic, cf. Ar. ᶜ*anbas* ~ ᶜ*abbas*. The other Eth.Sem. languages employ a variety of terms:
Te. *ḥayät*, Har. *wänāg*, Gaf. *zíbbä*, Ch. *žäp*, etc.

anbäṭa 'locust'   :   Gz.Tna. ᵓ*anbäṭa*, Te. ᶜ*ambäṭa*, Gaf. *ɔnbäṭ* , Arg. *anbäṭa*.
This probably derived from the Semitic root *nbṭ* 'come out, emanate'.

asa 'fish'   :   Gz. ᶜ*aša*, Tna.Te. ᶜ*asa*, Arg.Ch.Gy.Sod. *asa*, Gaf. *asä*, etc.
Cushitic, perhaps Agaw: cf. Bil. ᶜ*aza*, Kem. *asa*, S.Ag. *así*; but note also Saho ᶜ*aasa* and
Beja *aša*.

asama 'pig'   :   Tna. *ḥasäma*, Te. *ḥasama*.
This item is to be related to the Eth. root *ḥšm* (Gz. *ḥašämä* 'be hateful, bad'), to which
Ar. *ḥašima* 'be angry', *ḥašama* 'say unpleasant things' may be compared. The pig is, of
course, a taboo animal in traditional Ethiopian culture, as amongst other Semitic speaking
peoples.

awre 'wild animal'   :   Gz. ᵓ*awe*, Tna. ᵓ*arawit* (formally a plural, cf. Gz. ᵓ*arawit*),
                                          Te. ᵓ*awe* 'snake', Gaf.Arg. *awre*, Har. *ūri*.
From the same root derives Amh. *awra* 'male (animal), chief, main'. Common Semitic ᵓ*rw(-y)*:
cf. Ar. ᵓ*arwā*, Heb. ᵓ*ᵃrī* 'lion', Akk. *erū* 'eagle', etc. The same item, ᵓ*awe*, also occurs
in the compound noun Gz. ᵓ*awe ḥariš* (Cosmas *aroué arisi*) 'rhinoceros', Amh. *awraris*.

ayṭ 'mouse'   :   Arg. *henṭ*, Old Amh. *hayṣ*.
Semitic, cf. Akk. *ajaṣu* 'weasel'. The N.Ethiopian languages employ an item of Agaw origin:
Gz. ᵓ*anṣewa*, etc. (cf. Bil. ᵓ*ɔnšɔwa*, Khm. *ɔcɔwa*, Kem. *ɔnšɔwa*, S.Ag. *ɔnca*), whilst the rest
of S.Ethiopian has an item of a different Semitic origin: Har. *ṣuᵓur* ~ *ṣūr*, etc. (cf. Ar.
ṣaᵓr).

azzo 'crocodile'   :   M.Ms.Go. *azzo*, Old Amh. *hazzo*, etc.
Note also Har. *ḥāš*, which, though doubtless related, is probably from a different immediate
source. Cushitic, cf. Kem. *azo*, S.Ag. *azzu*; cf. also Som. *yaḥāaš*.

ɔbab 'snake'   :   Arg. *hɔwaw* ~ *howaw*, Har. *ḥubāb*, Gaf. *ɔbabʷä*, Wl. *ɔmbab*,
                                          Old Amh. *hɔbab*.
Nöldeke (1910:89) regarded this as a derivative of the root *ḥbb* 'love' as an example of
Gegensinn. However, the root *ḥbb* occurs in Tigre with the meaning 'wind, curve'; cf. also
Ar. *ḥubāb* 'serpent'.

ɔṣṣuñit 'viper'   :   Har. *ḥiṣṣiñ*, Sl. *ɔṣṣɔñña*, Wl. *umṣäññet*, Z. *ūmṣiñ̃i*.
One wonders whether this S. Ethiopian item is related to the N. Ethiopian and common Semitic
root meaning 'viper': Gz. ᵓ*aṣᶜot*, Ar. ᵓ*aṣᶜā*, Heb. ᵓ*epᶜe*, etc. The underlying form common to
the S. Ethiopian items is *ḥɔṣṣɔn-*; perhaps an extension in -*n* of a variant of the root ᵓ*ṣᶜ* ?

ənk̲urarit 'frog'   :   Gz. k̲ʷärnänäᶜat ~ k̲ʷärnanəᶜat ~ k̲ʷärnänaᶜat, Tna. k̲ʷ ərᶜo
                                       ~ k̲ʷ ərᶜob ~ ᵓənk̲ʷ ərᶜob, Te. k̲orəᶜ ~ ᵓənk̲orəᶜ, Har. ankurarahti,
                                       Sl.Wl.Z. ənk̲urarit.

All these forms are ultimately extensions and reduplications of the root *k̲ʷ rᶜ ~ k̲ʷ rh. This
is clearly partially onomatopoeic, but can nevertheless be compared with other Semitic
terms: Ar. qurra ~ qirra ~ qarra 'frog', Talmudic Heb. qūrqūr 'the croaking of frogs'.

ənšəlalit 'lizard'   :   Ch. ənšənet ~ ənšərənät, E. ənšərənnät; perhaps also Har.
                                       ašhiyya ~ ašhiya, Z. asiyya, End. ušənnä, Gy. wəšənä, etc.

The pattern of the Amharic item ən+C_1əC_2aC_2+it (√šl) occurs in this and similar forms through-
out Ethiopian Semitic in animal names; cf. Amh. ənk̲urarit 'frog', Arg. ənšərarit 'spider',
Wl. umʃäññet 'viper', Ch. ənšərənät 'lizard'. The root of this item (*s(h)l ?) cannot be
readily identified as to origin.

ərgəb 'dove'   :   Gz. rəgb, Tna. rəgbi, Te. rəgəb, Har. ergib.
Semitic, cf. Akk. rigabu ~ rigapu 'sp. of bird'.

ərya 'pig'   :   Gz. haräwya ~ harawya, Te. harawya, Har. hariyya, Sl.
                                       iräya, Old Amh. hərya.

The S. Ethiopian forms may be derived from *ha/ərəwya > ha/ərəyya. The root is hrw (Gz.
haräwä 'dig'). Common Semitic, cf. Ar. hāra, Heb. hār.

čəlat 'hawk'   :   Har. tilli, Z. čululle.
Of East Cushitic origin: cf. Sid. čululle, Qabena tiliilūta, Kambatta tillilličūta,
Galla čululle; the Kemant item təläy looks more like an old loan from Amharic than an in-
herited Agaw item.

dakəyye 'duck'   :   Har. dākiya, Ms. dakkiyä, Sod. dakiyye, etc.
From Galla dakiya.

ʃälʃäl ~ ʃəlʃäl 'mole'   :   Arg. ʃəlʃäl, Har. ʃīʃi, Gaf. ʃəlʃälä, Sl. ʃälʃäl.
Probably from the root ʃlʃl (Gz. ʃälʃälä 'gush forth', Amh. ʃäläʃʃälä 'dehusk, bite (of
insects)'), to which Semitic pll may be compared: cf. Ar. ʃalla 'break', Heb. pālal 'cut,
rend', and particularly ESA. ʃlt (n) 'ditch, excavation'. Interestingly, the item
ʃälʃäl does occur in Ge'ez, but with the meaning 'elephant'. This latter item is probably
to be connected with Semitic pīl-, etc.

gumare 'hippopotamus'   :   Tna. gumare, Te. gumare 'rhinoceros', Har. gumārre
                                       'hippopotamus', Ch. gomana, Go. gomari.

Cushitic, cf. Afar gumāarii, Saho gumāaee, Som. ǧeer; also in Agaw, Khm. gumäri, Kem.
gumari.

goš 'buffalo'   :   Har. gōš, Arg. goš, Ch.Gy. gäš, Sod. gäšš, Sl. gäšo, etc.
Exact formal cognates for this item occur in Sid. gooše, Khm. guša, Kem. goš. These may,

however, be taken from Ethiopian Semitic, especially since another term occurs more widely throughout Cushitic: Beja ʾagabaa, Bil. ḳabga, Hadiya ḳobiɾa, etc. On the other hand, it is hard not to associate goš, etc., with Gz. gamus of the same meaning. This latter item is a loan through Ar. ǧāmūs from Persian gāvmīš ~ gāmāš ~ gāmūš.

ǧəb 'hyena'   :   Gz. zəʾb, Tna. zəʾbi, S.Arg. ǧu.

Common Semitic dʾb 'wolf, jackal'. The other Ethiopian Semitic languages have a variety of terms, probably of non-Semitic origin: Te. käɾay, Har. wäɾaba, Gaf. ḳäɾčämä, Ch. gʷänčä, and so on.

ǧəgɾa 'guinea fowl'   :   Gz. zəgɾa, Tna. zagɾa, Har. zigɾa ~ zikɾa, Ch. žəgɾa, etc.
Of Agaw origin: cf. Bil. ǧägɾina, Kem. ǧiɾäna, S.Ag. zəgɾana.

ǧəɾat 'tail'

Probably to be connected with the item čəɾa 'fly-whisk', several of the cognates of which have the meaning 'tail' (Tna.Arg.Gaf. čəɾa). Both items are of Cushitic origin: for ǧəɾat cf. Kem. gäɾäy ~ ǧəɾäy, Khm. ǧəɾa; for čəɾa cf. Galla čiɾa, Qabena čiɾaa, S.Ag. čäɾi. The N. Ethiopian languages preserve the common Semitic term ḏnb: Gz.Te. and Hamasen Tna. zänäb.

kənš 'wing'   :   Gz. kənš, Tna. kənši, Ch. känša, etc.
Common Semitic knp.

käɾkäɾo 'wild pig'   :   Har. kaɾkaɾo, Arg. kaɾkaɾo, Gaf. käɾkäɾ.
East Cushitic, cf. Galla, Som. kaɾkaɾo.

ḳoḳ 'partridge'   :   Tna. ḳoḳah, Arg.Ch. ḳoḳ, Gaf. ḳukʷaǧǧi, Sod. ḳuḳä, Sl. ḳoḳe, Wl. ḳoʾi, etc.

This item is also recorded in Geʾez as ḳoḳah, as in Tigrinya, but it is not certain to what extent this is an original Geʾez item or an introduction from some vernacular. The item is of Cushitic origin: cf. Khm. qoqáya, Kem. ḳawəya, Qabena ḳooḳä; perhaps also Afar kukkaaᶜe 'guinea fowl'.

ḳəmal 'louse'   :   Gz.Tna. kʷəmal, Te. ḳəmäl, Har. ḳumäy, Arg. ḳəmal, M. ḳəme, Ch.Gy. ḳəmaɾ, etc.

Common Semitic qml ~ qlm.

ḳunəčča 'flea'   :   Gz. kʷənš, Tna. kʷənši, Te. ḳaš ~ ḳäš, Har. ḳunäč, Arg. ḳunəčča, Wl. ḳənaččo, Ch.Gy. ḳəɾač, etc.

The root is Eth. kʷnš ~ knš (Gz. ḳänäšä, ḳännäšä 'leap, jump'). Semitic, cf. Ar. qamaṣa 'spring, jump, gallop'. The medial radical n of the Ethiopian Semitic root as against m of the Arabic may be explained as having arisen through assimilation with the following ṣ in some such environment as *qumṣ > kʷənš.

ḳ̣änd 'horn'   :   Gz. ḳärn, Tna. ḳärni, Te. ḳär (pl. ᵓaḳᵊrnät), Har. ḳär,
                                    Arg. ḳänd, Gaf. ḳ̣ändä, Ch.Gy. ḳän, etc.
Common Semitic qrn.

ḳura 'crow'   :   Arg. ḳura, Gaf. ḳurä, Har. ḳurra, Ch. kʷᵊrä, M. kurä, etc.
Praetorius (1879:67) tried to derive this from the Semitic root ġrb (Ar. ġurāb, etc.).
There are, however, widespread Cushitic items which provide a better formal fit: Bil.
kʷaxʷra, Kem. xʷäräy, Alaba ḳura, Ṭembaro ḳuura; note also Kaffa kureččo.

nᵊb 'bee'   :   Gz. nᵊhb, Tna. nᵊhbi, Te. nᵊhᵊb, Arg.Ch.Sod. nᵊb, Gaf.
                                    nᵊbʷä, End. nᵊw, etc.
Other Semitic languages have the root nūb-; perhaps the medial h of the Ethiopian Semitic
root can be explained as due to contamination with another root: cf. nhb (Ar. nahaba
'plunder, move rapidly').

näbᵊr 'leopard'   :   Gz. nämr, Tna. näbri, Ch.M. näbᵊr.
Common Semitic nmr.

sägon 'ostrich'   :   Gz. sägäno, Tna.Te. sägän.
Of Agaw origin, cf. Bil. ságan, Khm. sagʷᵊna, Quara saganā.

säkʷäna 'animal leg'   :   Gz. säkʷäna 'heel, horse's hoof', Tna. säxʷäna, Har.
                                    säxana 'shin', Ch. sanxara, etc.
Cushitic, probably specifically Agaw, cf. Bil. säxʷana, Khm. soxʷᵊna, Quara sukanā; note
also Beja sikʷina, Afar dikʷaᶜoonoo.

šärärit 'spider'   :   Gz. šaret, Tna.Te. saret, Arg. ᵊnšᵊrarit, Har.
                                    ašširärahti, Sod. šärayit, Ch.Go. šet, Sl. ᵊšet, Wl.
                                    ᵊnšärärit, etc.
The underlying root of all the Eth.Sem. forms may be reconstructed as *šr(y), with internal
reduplication in Amharic and other S. Ethiopian languages to *šrr(y). Cerulli (1936:237)
relates this to a common Cushitic root meaning 'to wear, clothe', derivatives of which
occur in several Cushitic languages in the sense of 'spider': Bil. sariro, Kem. sari,
Galla sarariti, Saho saroo-baahayta 'il portatore di veste'.

šuṭ 'tapeworm'   :   Har. suṭi, Sod. soč̣ä, Ch. sonč̣ä, Wl. seṭo, etc.
Of East Cushitic origin, cf. Hadiya suuṭo, Darasa heeṭõ, Galla heṭo.

tᵊhʷan 'bed bug'   :   Tna. tᵊxʷan, Te. tᵊkan, Har. tuxān, Arg. tuhan, Ch.
                                    tᵊxar, etc.
Cushitic, cf. Bil. tᵊxʷana, Afar tikʷan, Galla tukana.

ṭɔl 'worm'   :   Har. *tulu³*, Arg. *tuli³*, Sod. *tɔlä*, Z. *tul*, Ch.Gy. *čɔrä*,
                                    Go. *čɔlä*, M. *čiyä*, etc.

Common Semitic *t(w)lᶜ-t* (Heb. *tōlēᶜā*, Akk. *tūltu*, Soq. *taᶜaleh*, etc.); the Eth.Sem. forms
(S. Ethiopian only) all derive from a pattern **tɔlɔᶜ*.

ṭoṭa 'Vervet monkey'
From Agaw: cf. Khm. *čičɔwä*, Kem. *šɔšäwa*.

wäṣ 'bird'   :   Gz.Tna.Te. *ᶜoṣ*, Har. *ūṣ*, Arg. *woṣ*, Gaf. *yɔṣ*ä*, Ch.Gy. *ãṣ*,
                                    Sod. *oṣ*, Sl.Wl.Z. *ūṣ*, etc.

Common Semitic *ᶜwp*.

wala 'sp. of mountain antelope' : Gz. *wɔᶜla ~ wäᶜala*.
Common Semitic *wᶜl* 'mountain goat'.

zähon ~ zohon 'elephant'   :   Arg.Sod. *zähon*, M. *zäxonä*, Ch.Gy. *zäx*ärä*, End.Go. *zähonä*,
                                    Enn. *žäx*ärä*, etc.

In Har. *doxon*, Sl. *dähano*, and Wl. *dähäno* an item from a related, but different source
occurs. The forms in initial z- can be derived from something like **zäk*än*, which bears no
close resemblance to any recorded Cushitic form, though almost identical to the reconstructed
"common Cushitic" form (Cerulli 1938:198; Dolgopol'skiy 1973:107). The forms in initial d-,
however, are very similar to several East Cushitic forms: Hadiya *daneččo*, Som. *dagon*,
Saho *dakaano*, etc.; from the same Cushitic root are Bil.Kem. *gana*. It is not possible,
therefore, to ascribe the Amharic item to a particular Cushitic source. The N. Ethiopian
languages all use a form *harmaz*, and Ge'ez has a further form, *näge*, seemingly of Indian
origin.

zɔmb 'fly'   :   Tna.Har. *zɔmbi*, Gaf. *zɔmbä*, Arg.Ch. *zɔmb*, etc.

Common Semitic *dbb*. Ge'ez does not preserve this Semitic root, but employs an item of Agaw
origin: *ṣɔnṣɔnya* (cf. also Tna. *ṣɔnṣɔya*, Te. *čɔnčay*).

zɔngäro 'baboon'   :   Har. *zāgäru*, Gaf. *gɔngɔrä*, Sl. *zāngero*, Ms.Sod. *zangärä*, etc.

Of Agaw origin, cf. Bil. *gägura*, Kem. *gägɔra*, Quara *gagirā*, S.Ag. *zagri*; note also Hadiya
dagieraa, Som. *danger*, *daayer*.

4. THE SEMANTIC FIELD "SOCIAL ORGANIZATION"

The subdivisions under this heading are 4.1) law and government, 4.2) economy, 4.3) warfare,
and 4.4) religion and superstition. The areas of the lexicon covering culturally sensitive
categories such as these are, as might be expected, more fluid in turn-over, in acceptance
of loan elements and influences, than some of the other semantic fields discussed hitherto
in this paper. Moreover, perhaps more in this field than in any other, can extra-linguistic
conclusions about the history, ethnic contacts, and patterns of cultural influence of the
speakers of the language be drawn. Thus, when we examine vocabulary from the sphere of trade

and economy in Amharic, we find a large number of items taken from Arabic or from elsewhere (Turkish, Persian, for example) through the medium of Arabic. The traditional rôle of outsiders, particularly the Arabs, in the commerce of Ethiopia is, of course, well known. Amongst these commercial terms we may include *hisab* 'account', *bəlaš* 'gratis, free', *gumruk* 'customs', *gərš* ~ *kərš* 'small coin', *kəray* 'rent', *məskin* 'poor', *mizan* 'scales', *suk* 'small shop', *wäket* 'ounce', and so on (see Leslau (1970)). Similarly, a number of military terms are of Arabic origin, including items like *gorade* 'scimitar', *sälläfä* 'draw up in battle line', *harb* 'army' and its purely Amharic extension *arbänna* 'warrior', as well as the names of products of more recent military technology like *mädəf* 'cannon', *tämänga* 'rifle', *näft* 'rifle', etc. On the other hand, most traditional military titles in Amharic appear to be indigenous, the only exception being *baša*, taken from Arabic, though ultimately of Turkish origin, as is *tämänga*, cited above.

The contribution of the non-Semitic languages of Ethiopia in this field is much smaller. In economy there is *amole* 'salt bar currency', *dəha* 'poor'; in military terminology, *gašša* 'shield', *lole* 'soldier' (also meaning 'servant', cf. *askär* (of Arabic origin) with the same range of meaning), and more specific terms like *dulla* 'club', *yäbbo* 'short spear', *agre* 'large shield'. Many of the basic terms, however, remain inherited Semitic: *dəl* 'victory', *gäddälä* 'kill', *säffärä* 'camp', *särawit* 'army', *säyf* 'sword', *tälat* 'enemy', *tor* 'spear, army, war' (*torənnät*), *zärräfä* 'plunder', and so on. The same is essentially true of the field of economy and trade: cf. *gäbəya* 'market', *käffälä* 'pay', *täläkka* 'borrow', *näggädä* 'trade', *šätä* 'sell', and so on.

Religious terminology includes a high proportion of long-established loanwords, which entered the Ethiopian language area through Ge'ez during the early centuries of the Christian era. A number of specifically Christian terms are of Greek origin: *papas* 'metropolitan, bishop', *mänäkuse* (and variants) 'monk', *däbtära* 'lay priest, cantor', *gänna* 'Christmas', *diyakonos* 'deacon', etc. The majority of borrowed religious terms in Amharic is, however, of Hebrew or Aramaic origin (see especially Nöldeke (1910:32-46); also Ullendorff (1968: 121-5)). This includes both specifically Christian and more general terms that may be characterized as "Judeo-Christian". Of course, it need hardly be said that a whole body of religious terminology has been taken over from Arabic by Islamic communities. This does not concern us here, however. It is not always easy to be certain either about the direction of a loan-movement or even about the process of borrowing itself between closely related Semitic languages (Ullendorff 1968:120). This is readily illustrated in the field of religious terminology. Items such as *mäl'ak* 'angel', *mäläkot* 'divinity', *hati'at* 'sin'[18] are all related to original common Ethiopian roots for which there is no reason to suspect borrowing from other Semitic languages, though the particular semantic value given to these derivatives in the religious field may be attributed to the theological colouring current in other Semitic languages.[19] Thus, the specific value of *mäl'ak* as 'angel' alongside the common Eth. root *l'k* 'send' is attributed to Heb. *mal'āk*; or *hati'at* as 'sin' besides Eth. *ht'* 'not find, not have', is owed to Aram. *ḥaṭāṭā*. However, a number of basic roots like *kds* 'be holy', *kbr* 'bury', *rgm* 'curse', *brk* (C-type) 'bless', *mrk* 'bless', are most likely of inherited Semitic origin semantically as well as formally; there appears to be no need to imply outside influence in the semantic development. The component roots of the names of

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[18] See Nöldeke (1910) where a full list of items of Hebrew and Aramaic origin is given. Ullendorff (1968) gives a similar list.

[19] Perhaps not all the items listed by Nöldeke (1910) need have received the influence of Hebrew or Aramaic; I cannot see why *kds*, for example, should be so influenced when its semantics are perfectly in accord with the general Semitic theme for this root.

the Deity, *mɛk* (*amɛak*) and *gzᵓ* + *bḥɹ* (*ɔgziᵓabɔḥeɹ*), are similarly of inherited Semitic origin. The common Semitic root *ᵓɛ* 'god', which occurs in all other branches of Semitic, is not found as an inherited item in Ethiopian Semitic.

Two important terms from the field of magic and the supernatural are of non-Semitic origin, namely *buda* and *zaɹ*. The latter seems to be derived from the old name of a pagan (Agaw?) sky-god, typically "demoted" to the position of a (malevolent) spirit in the "new" religion. The former, *buda*, has cognates throughout the Ethiopian language area, including in a number of Sudanic languages, to which its origin has been ascribed (Cerulli 1931-2:346).

The list of items from the field of law, government and social organization in general presents a rather different picture from that of economy or religion, in that the over-whelming majority of items is of inherited Semitic origin, and obvious loanwords are few in number. Out of 50 terms studied, 36 (72%) are of safe, directly inherited Semitic origin, whilst only five appear to be of non-Semitic, Cushitic origin. Especially interesting among these five items are the two terms *aṣe ~ aṭe* 'emperor' and the (originally) vocative *ǧanhoy*. The appearance of both terms in Amharic can be roughly dated, the first to the 14th century, to the reign of ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon, and the second possibly to the 16th century, to the reign of Särṣä Dəngəl, at least according to native tradition. Both terms are of Agaw origin and appear originally to have been titles or appellatives of Agaw rulers.

Amongst the items of inherited Semitic origin are several for which the closest semantic parallel occurs particularly in South Arabian.[20] The roots of many of these do occur else-where in Semitic, but the point of interest here lies in the close semantic correlation with S.Arabian. Thus, *agäɹ* 'country' (Gz. *hagäɹ* 'town', ESA. *hgɹ* 'town, state'), *gäbbaɹ* 'vassal', *gäbäɹe* 'farmer' (ESA. *gbɹ-m* 'group of serfs', *ᵓgbɹ* 'servants', Gz. *gäbɹ* 'slave, servant'), *gult* 'fief' (ESA. *g(w)ɛ* idem.), *ngś* 'be king' (ESA. *ngś* 'impose tribute'), *šum* 'chief' (Gz. *šɔyum*, ESA. *šym* 'praefectus'), *wäsän* 'boundary' (ESA. *wtn*), *ḥɔgg* 'law' (ESA. *ḥg*), *šäṭä* 'sell' (Gz. *šeṭä*, ESA. *š(y)ṭ* 'trade, carry on business'), and from the field of military terminology *säɹawit* 'army' (ESA. *šɹwt*).

4.1. LAW AND GOVERNMENT

agäɹ 'country'   :   Gz. *hagäɹ* 'town', Tna. *hagäɹ* 'country'.

Semitic, cf. ESA. *hgɹ* 'town, state', Yemeni Ar. *haǧaɹ* 'ruined town'.

aɛäka 'head, superior'   :   Tna. *ḥaɛäxa*, Old Amh. *haɛäka*.

There are several formally compatible roots in Eth.Sem., none of which, however, is really suitable as a cognate to this item on semantic grounds: *ḥɛk* 'be destroyed', *h⁽ʷ⁾ɛk* 'count', *ḥɛk* 'be round'. Rather, one wonders if this root *ḥɛk* 'chief' might not be connected with Eth.Sem. *ɛḥk* 'be more, elder', despite the difference in sequence of radicals and the dif-ferent laryngal. The root *ɛḥk* is of safe Semitic origin and may be compared with Heb. *ɛahᵃqä* 'senior ones'.[21]

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[20] See Ullendorff (1955:156) where some S. Arabian lexical parallels are listed; see also Höfner (1960:435).

[21] For the Semitic connections of *ɛḥk* see Ullendorff (1956:194ff.), where Heb. *ɛahᵃqä* 'senior ones' is compared.

aṭe 'emperor'   :   Old Amh. *haṣe ~ haṭe.*

This item appears to be of Agaw origin, cf. Kem. *aŝena* (Kem. *ŝ* frequently corresponds to Eth.Sem. *ṣ* in loans of both directions). The introduction of the term has been dated to the reign of ᶜAmdä Ṣəyon (1314-43). It should, however, be noted that *aŝena* does not appear to have any purely Agaw derivation and lacks cognates in other Agaw languages. On the other hand, it bears a close resemblance to the Ge'ez term *ḥazani*, which appears on later Axumite inscriptions in the sense of 'administrator' (Littmann 1913:44 and 45, inscr. 12 and 13).

awağ 'proclamation'

An agent noun (*ḳätali*) pattern from the Eth.Sem. root ᶜ*wd* 'go round'. In Ge'ez ᶜ*awadi* has the meaning 'bandit, one who roams the country', but the root has a wide range of meanings to which 'proclamation' can easily be related. This etymology would seem preferable to a derivation from the S. Ethiopian root *⃰ ɔwd* (Har. *ēda*, Arg. *aweda*, Ch. *odäm*, Gaf. *awädä*) meaning 'speak, tell'.

əngɔda 'guest, stranger'   :   Gz.Te. *ɔəngɔda*, Har. *nugda*, Gaf. *əngɔdä*, Sod. *nägda*, etc.

From the Eth.Sem. root *ngd* in the primary sense of 'travel'.

bad ~ bada 'stranger'   :   Gz. *baᶜd*, Tna. *baᶜdi.*

Semitic, cf. Ar. *baᶜīd* 'strange, distant', ESA. *bᶜd* 'remote'.

dañña 'established order', *dañña* 'judge' (n):   Gz. *däyyänä* (vb), *däyyani* (n), Tna. *däyyänä*,
                                                              dañña, Har. *dañña.*

The Tigrinya noun *dañña*, and perhaps also the Harari noun, are probably amharicisms. The Amharic root would appear to derive from **dny* with transposed second and third radicals. Alternatively, if the verb root *dañña* is a secondary formation from the noun *dañña* and not a primary formation, then *dañña* may be explained as an extension in *-ya* of a noun **dani* (? *däy(y)ani*). Common Semitic *dyn.*

färrädä 'judge'   :   Gz.Tna. *färädä*, Har. *färäda*, Ch. *fänädäm*, etc.
Semitic *prd* 'separate, distinguish'.

fätta 'release, divorce'   :   Gz. *fätḥa*, Tna. *fätḥe*, Har. *fätaḥa*, Ch. *fätam*, etc.
Common Semitic *ptḥ* 'open'.

gäbbärä 'pay tax, tribute' (*gäbäre* 'farmer', *gäbbar* 'vassal', *gɔbɔr* 'tax'):
                        Gz. *ɔagäbbärä* 'impose tribute', *gäbr* 'slave', *gäbar* 'worker',
                        etc., Tna. *gäbbärä* 'pay tax', Har. *gēbära* 'pay an amount
                        of money or cloth to the bride at the conclusion of the en-
                        gagement', Sod. *gäbbäräm* 'tame', Wl. *gebärä*, etc.

The root *gbr* also means 'work, do, make' in N. Ethiopian (Gz. *gäbrä*), which would appear to be the starting point of the various semantic developments in the rest of Ethiopian Semitic. Common Semitic *gbr* 'force, be strong'; with reference to the Ethiopian developments note especially ESA. *ɔgbr* 'servants', *gbrm* 'a group of serfs'.

gult 'fief'   : Gz. *gʷəlt*, Tna. *gʷəlti*, Te. *gəlt*.

Semitic, cf. ESA. *g(w)l*, and perhaps also Ar. *ǧūl* 'the wall round a well or grave'.

geta 'master, lord'   : Tna. *gʷäyta*, Har. *gōyta*, Gaf. *gʷitä*, Arg. *geta*, Ch.
                                                g´äta, Old Amh. *gʷeta*, etc.

Various attempts at the etymology of this item have been made; Cerulli (1936:252) considers
it to be of Agaw origin, deriving it from a form analogous to Khm. *qawata* 'leader'. Leslau
(1963:76) suggests a connection with Galla *goʃta*, which is, however, a purely Galla form and
derivative of *gosa* 'tribe'. Rather, the etymology proposed by Cohen (1939:88) is the most
likely, namely a derivative of **gʷäy* (Amh. *-ge* 'place'), which appears in Old Amharic as an
independent item *gay ~ gäy ~ gey*, and elsewhere in S. Ethiopian with meanings ranging from
'country' to 'town', 'village', and as a locative postfix. It is almost certainly Semitic
and related to ESA. *gw* 'collegium', Heb. *gōy* (Cohen 1933:34).

gäzza 'rule, buy'   : Tna. *gäzʾe* 'possess, buy', Te. *gäzʾa*, Har. *gäzaʾa* 'govern',
                                                Arg. *gäzza*, etc.

The root occurs in Ge'ez in the nominal form *ʾəgziʾ* 'lord, master'. Semitic, cf. Ar.
ǧazaʾa 'distribute, share'.

ǧan(hoy) 'emperor'

Composed of *ǧan* and the vocative particle *hoy*. The element *ǧan* is of Agaw origin: Bil.Kem.
ǧana 'elephant', used as a royal epithet. The introduction of this term into Amharic is
traditionally dated to the reign of Särṣä Dəngəl (1563-97).[22]

həgg 'law'   : Gz. *həgg*, Tna. *həggi*, Te. *həg* 'limit'.

The presence of the initial *h-* in the Amharic term corresponding to *ḥ-* elsewhere indicates
that this is a Ge'ez take-over and not a genuinely inherited item. The root is Semitic, cf.
especially ESA. *ḥg* 'law'; this appears to be a peculiarly South Semitic development of *ḥqq*,
which occurs in the rest of Semitic.

həzb 'people'   : Gz. *həzb*, Tna. *həzbi*.

A take-over from Ge'ez. Semitic, cf. Ar. *ḥizb* 'crowd, group of people', *ḥazaba* 'collect'.

kasä 'compensate'   : Tna. *kähasä ,* Te. *kähasa*, Har. *kēhasa*, Arg. *kähasa*, Ch.
                                                kasäm, etc.

Praetorius (1879:7) suggested connecting *khs* (and Eth. *ksḥ* 'grow lean') with Heb. *kāḥaš* also
meaning 'grow lean'.

kässäsä 'accuse'   : Tna. *käsäsä*, Te. *kässa*, Har. *käsäsa*, etc.

Semitic, cf. Syr. *kāses* 'blame, reprove', and perhaps also Heb. *kāsas* 'compute', Akk.
kasāsu 'cut up', Ar. *kassa* 'pulverize'.

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[22]Mittwoch (1911:286): "die Abessinier glauben, dass das Wort *ǧān(hōi)* erst seit dem 16.
Jahrhundert im Gebrauch sei, während man früher dafür *dunzō* gesagt habe."

ḳätäma 'town'   :   Tna. ḳätäma, Har. ḳätäm- in ḳätämbäri 'entrance to a
                                        compound'.
In Ge'ez ḳätäma means 'edge, end, summit', but is used later in the sense of 'royal camp',
as in earlier Amharic, from which the meaning 'town' has developed. Probably Semitic,
cf. Ar. ḳatama 'hold, hide, conceal' and Gz. ḳätämä 'seal, close'.

ḳäṭṭa 'punish'   :   Gz. ḳäṣʿa 'humiliate', Tna. ḳäṣʿe 'punish', Te. ḳäṣʿa, Har.
                                        ḳaṭaʿa, etc.
Semitic, cf. Ar. qaṣaʿa 'grind, squash', Heb. qāṣaʿ 'scrape'.

leba 'thief'   :   Arg. leba, Gaf. libä, E. neba, End. niwä.
Perhaps of Galla origin, cf. labobu 'steal'.

malä 'swear'   :   Gz. mäḥalä, Te. mäḥala, Gaf. malä, etc.
The root mḥl occurs in other Semitic languages but with a range of meanings difficult to
relate to Eth.Sem. 'swear': Ar. maḥala 'be barren', Heb. māḥal 'renounce', Syr. mᵉḥel
'be weak', ESA. mḥl 'misfortune'. The root shape is plainly of Semitic type, but is not
readily relatable on semantic grounds to the other Semitic root(s) mḥl.

näggäsä 'become king'   :   Gz. nägśä, and hence modern Eth.Sem. ngś.
Semitic, cf. Ar. nagaśa 'compel', Heb. nāgas 'urge, drive', ESA. ngś 'impose tribute'.

näṭa ~ näṣa 'free'   :   Tna.Te. näṣa.
If, as seems likely, näṣa is to be derived from Eth.Sem. nṣḥ 'be pure', then the Tigrinya
and Tigre forms must be loans from Amharic; the protoform would then be *näṣaḥ. The root
nṣḥ is Semitic; cf. Ar. naṣaḥa 'be pure', Heb. nāṣaḥ 'sparkle', etc.

Another term with the same meaning in Amharic is ara, occurring in Old Amharic as hara, and
in Ge'ez as hara 'army, troops, officers', harawi 'free, noble, warrior'. The root is *ḥrr,
to which Heb. ḥor 'nobles', Ar. ḥarra 'be of noble stock', Aram. ḥᵃrar 'liberate', etc.,
may be compared.

rätta 'win a lawsuit'   :   Gz. rätʿa 'be straight, prosper', Tna. rätʿe 'win', Te.
                                        rätʿa 'succeed', Har. rätaʾa, Arg. rätta, Wl.Z. rätä, etc.
Semitic, cf. Akk. retû 'be fortified'.

särra (i) 'work', (ii)'prescribe' :   (i) Gz.Te. särḥa, Tna. särḥe; (ii) Gz. šärʿa, Tna.
                                        šärʿe, Te. šärʿa, Har. šaraʾa.
The root šrʿ may be compared with Ar. šaraʿa, ESA šrʿ 'order'. For the root srḥ, on the
other hand, I can find no satisfactory cognate.

šäǧǧätä 'revolt'   :   Tna. šäǧǧätä, Arg. šeǧǧäta, Sod. šiǧǧätäm, etc.

In some S.Eth. languages the root appears as šǧt and it is this form of the root that may be compared with Gz. sǧt (ᵓasǧäṭä 'deceive, seduce'). Probably Semitic, cf. Ar. saǧuṭa 'be liberal'.[23]

šällämä 'award'   :   Tna. šällämä, Har. šēläma, Arg. šelläma, Gaf. šillämä, etc.

A S. Ethiopian B-type pattern from the root šlm 'peace'. Common Semitic šlm.

šum 'chief'   :   Gz. šəyum (p.p. of šemä 'put, appoint')

The item occurs throughout Ethiopian Semitic. The root šym is, of course, common Semitic, but for an especially close semantic parallel to the noun šəyum, šum compare ESA. šym 'praefectus, dominus'.

šəmagəlle 'elder'   :   Tna.Te. šəmagəle.

Of Agaw origin, cf. Bil. simgär (pl. simagal), Khm. sämgəl, Kem. simgär. Amh. šəmgəl(l)e appears to be derived from the plural stem simagäl- plus an individualizing suffix -e.

wärräsä 'inherit'   :   Gz.Tna. wäräsä, Te. wärsa, etc.

From this root is derived the noun rəst 'hereditary landrights'. Common Semitic wrt̲.

waš 'guarantor'   :   Gz.Tna. waḥəš, Te. wəḥsa, Har. wāš, Ch. waš, etc.

Semitic, cf. ESA. wḥš in Qatabanian šwḥš 'gift, donation'.

wäšän 'border'   :   Gz.Tna.Te. wäšän, etc.

Semitic, cf. ESA. wt̲n.

Another Amharic item of the same meaning, dämbär, was related by Praetorius (1879:100) to the root dbr 'mountain'.

zega 'subject'   :   Gz. zega 'poor', Har. zēga.

This is probably of Agaw origin: cf. Bil. ǧixa 'poor', Kem. ǧäǧ 'be ruined'; note also Beja ǧehaana 'beggar'. Another form of the same Cushitic root appears as a loan in Amh. dəha 'poor'.

4.2. ECONOMY

amole 'salt-bar currency' :   Tna. ᵓamole, Har. amōle, Arg.Sl.W.Z. amole, etc.

Of East Cushitic origin, cf. Galla amole, Sid. amōle, Afar amole.

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[23]See Rundgren (1953:19-21) for a detailed discussion on this root; see also Wajnberg (1937a:39).

bərr 'silver, dollar'   :   Tna. *bərri*, Gaf. *bərrä*, etc; a different root pattern occurs
                                   in Gz. *bərur*.
Semitic, cf. Ar. *barra* 'be just', Heb. *bārar* 'be pure', and especially Akk. *barāru* 'shine'.

barya 'slave'
This item is traditionally connected with the ethnic name Barya, an Eastern Sudanic speaking
people of N.W.Ethiopia, already mentioned in the 4th century inscriptions of ᶜEzana. These
people do not, however, use the name of themselves. It is not inconceivable that the ethnic
name (of whatever origin) came to be used as a common noun 'slave', since these and related
peoples have long been the traditional source of slaves for highland Ethiopia. Praetorius
(1879:171) suggested a derivation from Sem. *bᶜr* 'cattle' (cf. Amh. *bäre* 'ox'), but I do not
think that this is very likely; in the inscription of ᶜEzana the name occurs in the same
form as in Amharic today, *barya*.

čanä 'load'   :   Gz.Tna. *ṣäᶜanä*, Te. *ʾaṣᶜana*, Har. *ṭaʾana ~ ṭāna*, Wl. *ṭanä*,
                              Sod. *čanä*, Ch.E. *čaräm*, etc.
Semitic *ẓᶜn* 'travel, migrate' (Ar. *ẓaᶜana*, Heb. *ṣāᶜan*, Akk. *ṣânu* 'load'), but note also Heb.
ṭāᶜan 'load'.

dəha 'poor'   :   Tna. *dəxa*, Gaf. *dəha*.
Of Cushitic origin; cf. the Agaw root *ž̆eǧ* (Bil. *ǧixa* 'poor', etc.) taken into Amh. as
zega 'subject'. Forms with initial *d-* do occur in Agaw (Kem. *däxa*, Khm. *dəxa* 'poor') but
these look more like loans from Amharic; but note also Galla *dega* 'poor'.

gäbäya ~ gäbəya 'market'   :   Gaf. *gäbəya*, Go. *gebi*, Ch. *gäbäya*, etc.
The root is almost certainly *gbʾ* 'enter'; thus **gäbəʾ* + *ya* would originally and literally
have meant 'meeting, reunion, assembly'.

gänzäb 'money, property'   :   Gz. *gänzäb* 'treasure', Tna. *gänzäb* 'money'.
The immediate origin of this item is an Aramaic term such as *gᵉnūzbā* (also occurring as
gizzᵉbar) 'treasury'. The ultimate source of all these is Old Persian *ganza-* 'treasure'
and *ganzabara* 'treasury'.

gʷaz 'caravan', *tägʷazä* 'travel':   Gz. *gəᶜzä ~ gäᶜazä* 'change camp, migrage', Tna. *gäᶜazä*,
                                        Har. *gāza*, Sod. *gazä*, etc.; for the noun *gʷaz* cf. Gz.
                                        gʷaᶜəz, Sod. *gʷaz*, Har. *gāz*.
Semitic, cf. Ar. *ǧāza* 'travel', Heb. *gāz* 'pass, change' (*gwz*), rather than *gzᶜ* as cited
by Dillmann (1865:col. 1187), meaning 'cut'.

habt 'wealth'
This is a take-over from Gz. *habt* (√*whb* 'give'); a purely Amharic development of this occurs
as *käbt* 'cattle' with false restitution of *k* for *h*, and subsequent differentiation of meaning.

käffälä 'pay, divide'   :   Gz. *käfälä* 'divide, assign', Tna. *käfälä* 'pay', Te. *käfla*,
                                   Har. *käfäla*, etc.

Semitic, cf. Ar. *kafala* 'support, maintain', Heb. *kāpal* 'double, multiply'.

k"äṭṭäṛä 'count'   :   Tna. *k"äṣäṛä*, Arg. *k"äṭṭäṛa*, Gaf. *k"iṭṭäṛä*, Sod. *koṭṭäṛäm*,
                                         Ch.Gy. *kaṭäṛäm*, etc.

This root *k"ṣṛ* 'count' is probably identical with *k"ṣṛ* 'tie a knot' (Gz. *k"äṣäṛä ~ k"äṣṣäṛä*,
Amh. *k"aṭṭäṛä*, etc.). If this assumption is correct, it gives an interesting glimpse into
early methods of recording numbers. Semitic, cf. perhaps Syr. *qeṭaṛ* 'attach'.

a-läkka 'lend', *tä-läkka* 'borrow' : Gz. *läkkʋha* 'loan', Tna. *ʾaläkkʋhe*, Har. *alēkäha*, etc.
Semitic, cf. Ar. *laqiha* 'conceive', Heb. *lāqah* 'take'.

näggädä 'trade'   :   Tna. *nägädä*, Tna. *nägda*, Har. *nigdi äša*, Sl. *nägädä*, Ms.
                                         neggädäm, etc.

The root in Ge'ez maintains a wider range of meanings than the modern Ethiopian Semitic forms:
Gz. *nägädä* 'travel, migrate, trade', which reoccur in several derivatives in Amharic:
mängäd 'road', *ʋngʋda* 'stranger'.
Semitic, cf. Aram. *ngd* 'flow'.

šäṭä 'sell'   :   Gz. *šeṭä*, Tna. *šäyäṭä ~ šäṭä*.
Semitic, cf. ESA. *š(y)ṭ* 'sell', and perhaps also Ar. *šauwaṭa* 'make a long journey'; for the
semantic development compare the previous item.

4.3. WARFARE

aškäṛ 'soldier, servant'   :   Tna.Te. *ʿaskäṛ ~ ʿaškäṛ*, Har. *aškäṛ*.
From Ar. *ʿaskaṛ*.

dʋl 'victory'   :   Tna. *dʋl*, Har. *dil ~ dʋl*.
Both the Tigrinya and the Harari items are probably loans from Amharic. The root is *dhl* (Gz.
tädʋhlä 'retreat, flee') and *ˣdʋhl > dʋl* would originally have meant something like
'flight, rout', the apparent reversal of meaning coming from a phrase such as *dʋl adäṛṛägä*
'make a rout' > 'be victorious'. Semitic, cf. Ar. *dahala* 'flee', Syr. *dehel* 'be afraid'.

gäddälä 'kill'   :   Har. *gädäla*, Arg. *gäddäla*, Sod. *gäddäläm*.

This is almost certainly not connected, at least directly, with Eth.Sem. *ktl* 'kill' as
suggested by Praetorius (1879:72). It is rather derived from *gdl*: cf. Gz. *tägadälä* 'fight',
gädäla 'carcass', Te. *gadäla* 'fight'. Semitic, cf. Ar. *ğadala* 'quarrel', *tağādala* 'idem.'.
The root *ktl* does not occur in Amharic, but is preserved elsewhere in Eth.Sem: Gz.Tna.
kätälä, Ch. *kˀäṭäṛäm*, Enn. *ʾätäṛä* , etc.

goṛade 'scimitar'   :   Tna. *g"ʋṛade*, Te. *gʋṛade*, Har. *guṛäde*, Ms. *g"äṛade*, etc.
Probably from Aden Arabic *guṛad*.

gaŠŠa 'shield'   :   Tna.Arg. gaŠŠa, Gaf. gaŠä, etc.
Of East Cushitic origin: cf. Galla gačana, gačča, Som. gaaŠäan; note also Kem. gaŠa, S.Ag.
gaŠi.

maḥḥäkä 'take prisoners'   :   Gz. mahḥäkä, Tna. maḥäxä, Te. maḥäka, Har. maḥäxa, Ch.
                                  manäxäm, etc.
Throughout modern Eth.Sem. this item is construed as a C-type triliteral (√mḥk), a remodelling
of the A-type quadriliteral (mhḥk) of Ge'ez.

säḟḟäḥä 'set up camp'   :   Gz.Tna. säḟäḥä, Te. säḟḥa, Har. säḟäḥa, etc.
This is probably the same root as Eth.Sem. sḟḥ 'measure' and common Semitic spḥ: Ar.
säḟaḥa 'travel', Heb. säpaḥ 'count', ESA. sḟḥ (n) 'measure'.

säḥawit 'army'   :   Gz.Tna. säḥawit.
Semitic, cf. ESA. sḥwt.

säyḟ 'sword'   :   Gz. säyḟ, Tna. säyḟi, Har. sīḟ.
Semitic, cf. Ar. sayḟ.

ŠäŠŠä 'flee'   :   Gz. säkäyä 'take refuge', Te. säka, Har. säka 'flee', Arg.
                                  säkka, Sod. ŠäŠŠäm, Ch. säk˘äm, Sl. säče, Wl. ŠäŠe, etc.
The initial Š- may be explained as due to removed assimilation to the medial Š; the latter
would seem to derive from k through palatalization to č and thence Š. An alternative
etymology was proposed by Praetorius (1879:132), who connected Amh. ŠäŠŠä with Gz. swsw
(ᵓansosäwä 'walk'), Heb. ŠiŠŠāᵓ 'lead on'. The former derivation, from sky, is, I think,
preferable.

Šotäl 'dagger'   :   Gz. säwtäl, Tna. Šotäl ~ Šutol, Te. sotäl, Har. Šōtäl, etc.
Perhaps from an East Cushitic source: cf. Saho Šotal, Som. Šootal.

ṭälla 'hate', ṭälat 'enemy' :   Gz.Te. ṣälᵓa, Tna. ṣälᵓe, Har. ṭälaᵓa, Gaf. täṣalä, Arg.
                                  ṭälla, Ch.Gy. ṭänam, etc.
The common Semitic, cf. Akk. ṣelû 'be hostile'. The common Semitic term for enemy, *ḍḥḥ,
occurs in N.Ethiopian: Gz. z̈äḥ, Tna. ṣäḥ.

ṭoḥ 'spear'
This might be connected with the Eth.Sem. root ṣwḥ (Gz. ṣoḥä 'carry', ṣoḥ 'burden, load').
Alternatively, it might be connected with an identical root occurring in Gaf. ṣäwwäḥä
'strong, rigid'. The former has a Semitic cognate in Soqotri ṣoḥ 'wear'.

wägga 'stab', täwagga 'fight': Gz. wägᵓa, täwagᵓa 'wound o.a.', Tna. wägᵓe, Ch. wäkam
                                  'crush', etc.
Semitic, cf. Ar. wagaᵓa 'hit', Soq. ᵓége.

wättaddär 'soldier'   :   Tna. *wättɔhaddär ~ wättahaddär.*

Guidi (1901:col. 579) suggested derivation from a phrase *wätto addär* 'che vive andando quà e là'; this is ingenious, but sounds a little like popular etymologizing.

zärräɣä 'plunder'   :   Tna. *zärräɣä,* Te. *zärɣa,* Har. *zäräɣa,* etc.

Semitic, cf. Ar. *zaraɣa* 'come upon s.th.', Aram. *nᵉzripūtā* 'impetus, attack', ESA. *zrɣt* 'incursio bellica'.

4.4. RELIGION AND SUPERSTITION

amlak 'God'   :   Gz. *ʾamlak,* Tna. *ʾamlax.*

Formally a plural of **mälk* 'king'. The same development of the common Semitic root *mlk* to express 'divine ruler' as well as 'secular ruler' occurs outside Ethiopian Semitic.

ɔgziabɔher 'God'

From Gz. *ʾɔgziʾabɔher* lit. 'lord of the earth'.

buda 'one who has the power of casting the evil eye':

This term occurs throughout modern Ethiopian Semitic and in various Cushitic and E. Sudanic languages. It is to the latter that Cerulli (1931-2:346 note) ascribed the origin of this item, deriving it from a noun originally meaning 'smith': Shilluk *bōdo,* Bari *bōdo,* Bongo *bodo.* Smiths and metalworkers were traditionally associated with the power of the evil eye throughout much of Africa and elsewhere.

bärräkä 'bless'   :   Gz. *baräkä,* Tna. *baräxä,* Te. *baräka.*

Common Semitic *brk.*

däbtära 'lay priest, cantor':   Tna. *däbtära*

In Ge'ez *däbtära* has the meaning 'tent, tabernacle' and *däbtärawi* 'one who lives in a tent', of which Dillmann (1865:col. 1106), says 'vulgo etiam vocatur *Canonicus* .... homo *literatus*." The item is ultimately of Greek origin: *diphthērai* 'skins made into a tent' (pl. of *diphthēra* 'skin, leather').

ḳäbbärä 'bury'   :   Gz.Tna. *ḳäbärä,* Te. *ḳäbra,* Har. *ḳäbära,* etc.; a nominal derivative occurs in most Eth.Sem. languages with the meaning 'grave, tomb': Gz. *mäḳbärt, ḳäbär,* Amh. *mäḳabɔr,* Har. *ḳäbri,* Tna. *mäxbär,* Sod. *mäḳbar,* etc.

Common Semitic *qbr.*

ḳäddäsä 'consecrate'   :   Gz.Tna. *ḳäddäsä.*

Nöldeke (1910:35) regarded Eth.Sem. *ḳds* as influenced by Jewish-Christian usage. Common Semitic *qdš.*

ḳes 'priest'   :   Gz. ḳäsis, Tna. ḳäšši, Te. ḳäs, Har. ḳēs.

The modern Eth.Sem. forms may be derived from a pattern *ḳäss. A loan from Syriac qašeša 'elder'.

märräḳa 'bless'   :   Tna. märräxä, Arg. merräḳa, Gaf. mirräḳä, E. männäḳä, etc.

A denominative formation from məräḳ 'saliva'. Spitting as a mark of benediction occurs widely in Ethiopia, cf. Galla tufa 'benedizione di augurio o di riconoscenza manifestata a mezzo della saliva soffiata leggermente verso la faccia o l'oggetto che si vuol benedire' (Da Thiene 1939:323).

räggämä 'curse'   :   Gz.Tna. rägämä.

Semitic, cf. Ar. ragama 'stone', Heb. rāgam, Akk. ragâmu 'protest, cry'.

ṭomä 'fast'   :   Gz.Tna. ṣomä, Te. ṣoma, Arg. ṭoma, Gaf. ṣimä, Ch.E. ṭomäm, etc.

The same root, ṣwm, also occurs in Arabic; both it and the Ethiopian Semitic root are regarded as a loan from Heb. ṣām (Nöldeke 1910:36).

zar 'evil spirit'

This item occurs throughout Ethiopian Semitic. It is almost certainly derived from the name of a pagan Cushitic sky god, probably Agaw: cf. Bil. ǧar 'sky, sky-god', Khm. zar 'evil spirit' (perhaps rather from Amharic?); the same Cushitic root occurs in Rendille sere 'sky', and perhaps in several Omotic languages, too. The term zar also occurs in Arabic as a loan from Ethiopian Semitic.

5. GRAMMATICAL ITEMS: PRONOUNS, NUMERALS, AND PARTICLES

This final section covers what is, strictly speaking, not a semantic but a grammatical field, in so far as the referents of the items discussed are not definable objects, actions, or qualities, but are (in the case of pronouns) part of the relation of the speaker to his audience, or (in the case of particles) the internal structurals of the language itself. These two categories, pronouns and particles, and numerals which in many ways lend themselves to grouping with the other two, are typically included under the "basic" vocabularly pole of the lexicon. For example, the 1952 Swadesh 200-item "basic" word-list (Swadesh 1952: 452-63) includes the cardinal numerals from 'one' to 'five', the pronouns of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd persons, singular and plural, as well as other pronominals like 'here', 'there', 'when', 'how', and the particles 'and', 'at', 'if', 'in', 'not'. The principal behind the inclusion of these items is in part that such elements tend to be among the most conservative areas of the lexicon because of their intimate connection with morphology. Whether all the items selected by Swadesh can be correctly classified as lexical universals or not does not immediately affect this discussion. Some of the items, especially 'not', 'if', 'and', cannot, I feel, be thought of as lexical universals and should not be included in a "basic" word-list without due consideration of the typology of the language(s) under examination. However, in most languages the lower numerals and the primary pronominal forms are, on the whole, derived from the inherited stock of the language. There are naturally exceptions; within the field of Afroasiatic alone one need only note the use of Arabic numerals above 'two', or 'ten', in many of the Berber dialects. However, the data from

Amharic follow the expected trend in that all the morphemic elements (though not the actual items themselves) of the personal and other pronouns are inherited Semitic, as are all numerals except 'nine' and 'thousand'.

The personal pronouns of the 2nd person, *antä, anči, antu*, the interrogatives, *man, mǝn*,[24] and the demonstratives, *yǝh ~ -zzih*, and *ya ~ -zzǝya*, present no problems in derivation from common Semitic forms.[25] The 1st person pronouns, *ǝne* and *ǝñña*, are clearly derived from inherited Semitic components, but not directly. The final -*e* of *ǝne* 'I' appears to be due to the influence of the corresponding possessive suffix, -*e*; a similar confusion of independent and dependent pronoun forms occurs throughout S. Ethiopian (Hetzron 1972:32-3). The initial *ǝ*-, on the other hand, instead of an expected *a*- (cf. Gz. *ʾanä*, Har. *ān*, Arg. *ay*, etc.), is probably taken over by analogy from the plural *ǝñña*, a feature which, again, occurs in several other S. Ethiopian languages: Ch. *ǝya*, etc. The 1st person plural pronoun, *ǝñña*, together with its cognates throughout S. Ethiopian and in Tigre in N. Ethiopian, lacks the initial *n*- found in Gz. *nǝḥnä*, Tna. *nǝḥna*, and the generally reconstructed Proto-Semitic form. The loss of this initial *n*-, whether it occurred at the common Ethiopian Semitic stage or independently in S. Ethiopian and Tigre, can be attributed to a kind of haplology: *nǝḥna* > **ǝḥna ~ ḥǝna* (cf. Egyptian Arabic *iḥnā*, Yemeni Arabic *ḥinna*, etc., for parallel developments). Hetzron (1972:33-4) derives the S. Ethiopian forms from *nǝḥna* > **nina* > **ñǝña* > *ǝñ(ñ)a*, etc., and regards S. Ethiopian forms like Arg. *ǝnna* as having been depalatalized later. While there is some evidence for the change -*ǝḥC*- > -*iC*- in Amharic and more so in certain Gurage languages,[26] there would appear to be no other instance of palatalization caused by a preceeding element, as opposed to a following one, in Amharic. Might not all the S. Ethiopian forms, then, be derived from a common **ǝḥna ~ ḥǝna* (as Te. *ḥǝna*) and the palatalization *n* > *ñ* be secondary, Arg. *ǝnna*, etc., preserving a more original, unpalatalized form? However, be this as it may, the pronoun is ultimately of inherited Semitic origin, which is the main point here.

The 3rd person pronoun base *ǝrs- ~ ǝss*- derives from the noun 'head', Gz. *rǝʾs* and almost certainly originated in the use of a noun denoting a part of the body together with the appropriate pronominal suffix as an emphatic pronoun, a construction which is still current in Amh. *ǝne rase* 'I myself' and Tna. *ʾanä rǝʾsäy*. Thus, *ǝrsu* 'he' derives from *rǝʾs* + *u* 'his head' and similarly Tna. *nǝssu* 'he' from *näfs* + *u* 'his soul', and perhaps also along similar lines Arg. *kǝssu* 'he' from *kärs* + *u* 'his belly'. The original independent pronouns of the 3rd person in Ethiopian Semitic (Gz. *wǝʾǝtu, yǝʾǝti*, etc.) survive in Gafat (*wǝt, yǝt*), Zway (*ut, it*), and a variant form in *h* occurs in Tigre (*hǝtu, hǝta*) and apparently in many of the Gurage languages. The old plural pronouns are mostly replaced in S. Ethiopian including Amharic by a compound of *ǝnnä*- (Ge'ez plural demonstrative/relative *ʾǝllä*) and the singular pronoun (Hetzron 1972:29).

The numerals in Amharic are of inherited Semitic origin, except for 'nine', whose origin is enigmatic, and 'thousand', which is of Agaw origin. Some of the Semitic numerals, whilst presenting no etymological problems, do exhibit interesting phonetic developments, especially *and* 'one', *hulätt(t)* 'two', *sost* 'three', and *aratt(t)* 'four'. The numeral *and* 'one' (Old Amh. *hand*) derives from *hadä* (Tna. *hadä ~ hade*, Te. fem. *hatte*, Arg. *hand*), an ellipsis of *ʾahad*-, which occurs in Gz. *ʾahadu* and Har. *ahad*. The other S. Ethiopian forms could derive

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[24]The element -*dǝr ~ -dǝn* in the interrogative *mǝndǝr* 'what?' is, however, of Agaw origin. See Tubiana (1963:15-17).

[25]The reconstructed protoforms of the demonstratives are **zikä* and **ziʾa*, to which Gz. *zǝku* 'that' and *ziʾa*-, possessive pronoun base, may be formally compared.

[26]Exx: Amh. *ṭim* besides *ṭǝm* 'beard' : Gz. *ṣǝhm*; Amh. *mize* 'best man' from **mǝhz* + *äy*; see Hetzron (1972:33).

either from the shortened or the longer form: Gy. *āt*, Ch. *at*, Sl. *ad*, etc. The numerals 'two', 'three', and 'four' exhibit the following "weak" sound changes:[27] *hulä(t)* from *ᵏkʷəlᵊetä* (k > h); *sost* from *sälästä* (l > Fʷ, i.e. rounding ;possibly the only instance of this sound change in Amharic); *arat(t)* from *ᵊarbaᶜtä* (b > φ; one of two instances of this change in postconsonantal position).

The Ethiopian Semitic languages all use the root *klᵊ* for the numeral 'two': Gz. *kəlᵊe(tu)*, Tna. *kələttä*, Te. *kəlᵊot*, Amh. *hulät(t)*, Arg. *ket*, Har. *koᵊot~kōt*, Ch. *xʷet*, etc. The numeral 'twenty' is also formed from this root in S. Ethiopian (Amh. *haya*, Har. *kuya*, Arg. *kiya*, Ch. *xʷuya*, etc.), whilst the original inherited Semitic term survives only in N. Ethiopian (Gz. *ᶜəsra*, Tna.Te. *ᶜəsra*). The form *haya*, etc., is analogous to the other tens, being formed from the root of the unit numeral plus the suffix -*a*: *ᵏk(ʷ)əlᵊe + a*. The root *tny*, from which all other Semitic languages derive the numeral 'two',[28] survives in Ethiopian Semitic only in the day name Gz. *sänuy*, Amh. *säñño* 'Monday' and the verb 'accompany' (Tna. *sännäyä*, Amh. *säññä*, Arg. *šeñña*, Har. *ašēña*, etc.), to which Ar. *tanā* 'double' and Heb. *šānā* 'repeat' may be compared.

Various attempts have been made at the etymology of the numeral 'nine', Amh. *zäṭäñ*, which has cognates throughout S. Ethiopian, whilst N. Ethiopian preserves the inherited Semitic root (Gz. *təsᶜatu ~ täsᶜatu*, Tna. *təsᶜattä*, Te. *səᶜ*). Praetorius (1879:203) tried to derive it from a compound of the demonstrative *zä* plus a form of the root *hss* 'be small' plus an adjectival ending -*äñ*: *ᵏzähəssäñ* 'the smaller', presumably referring to a kind of subtraction method, like Lat. *undeviginti* 'nineteen'. Leslau (1949:278-9), on the other hand, tries to relate S. Ethiopian *zhtñ* to N. Ethiopian *tsᶜ + -äñ* by a rather tortuous combination of metathesis and irregular sound changes. Neither is, to say the least, satisfactory, nor can any cognate be found for this S. Ethiopian root outside the Semitic languages of Ethiopia.

The numeral *ši(h)* 'thousand' is of Agaw origin: cf. Bil. *šix*, Kem. *ši*, S.Ag. *šay*, and is not from the Semitic root *syh* as suggested by Praetorius (1879:203). The borrowing of this Agaw item here may be neatly explained as "filling a gap" in the inherited numerical system. The Semitic root *ᵊlp*, which is used for 'thousand' in the other Semitic languages, has the meaning 'ten thousand' in Ethiopian Semitic (Gz. *ᵊəlf*, etc.), whilst 'thousand' is expressed by the phrase 'ten hundred' (Gz. *ᶜašärtu məᵊt*).

We must now turn to the slightly more complicated sphere of particles, which may be either separable or inseparable, and which includes a wide range of items such as time and place adverbs, syntactic markers (conjunctions, etc.) and prepositions and postpositions. The majority of these is of inherited Semitic origin. Some of the more fundamental ones are common to all or most Semitic languages: *bä-* 'in, by', *lä-* 'to, for', *mäče* 'when?', *alä* 'without' *tač* 'below', etc. Most, however, are peculiar to Ethiopian Semitic: *sə-* 'when', *əskä* 'as far as', *sənt* 'how many?', *zare* 'today', *əndä* 'as, like', *ənga* 'I don't know', *bəčča* 'only', etc. The number of items that may be attributed to a Cushitic source in this field is quite small: *ahun* 'now', *gən* 'but', *əngi* 'but rather', *na* 'come!', *gar(a)* 'with', and not all of these are incontestable.

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[27] I.e. sound changes that do not occur wherever the appropriate phonetic environment is present, but are restricted to certain lexical items only. The weak sound changes of Amharic are: (i) fricativization of *k > h, b > w ~ Fʷ ~ φ, m > w*; (ii) the intrusive or inorganic nasal, ...VC... > -VnC-.

[28] Occasionally in ESA. *klᵊy* and *klᵊty* are used as cardinal numerals besides more usual *tny, t(n)ty*.

5.1. INSEPARABLE PARTICLES

bä-/bə- 'in, by/if', *lä-/lə-* 'to, for/in order to', *kä-* ~ *hä-* 'from, by, with'[29] and *yä-* 'of' are all straightforward common Semitic.[30] The conjunctive suffix *-m(m)* and its widespread cognates in Eth.Sem. (Gaf. *-mma*, Arg.Har. *-m*, and the particle of insistance in Gaf. *-m*, Har. *-m(o)*, Tna. *-mmo*, Gz.Te. *-mä*) are related to the Semitic element *-m* which occurs as an enclitic in various languages: Akk. *-ma*, ESA. *-m*, *-mw*.

The prefixed particle *sə-* 'when, whilst', which also occurs in Argobba, is probably to be identified with the first element in the free standing preposition *əskä* 'as far as' and is, perhaps, ultimately derived from another single pronominal element in Semitic, *t-*. The enclitic particles *-s(s)* 'but' and *-nna* 'and' may be of Cushitic origin; at least, Somali *se* and *na* have almost exactly parallel functions. Within Ethiopian Semitic Gz. *-sä* and Tna. *-n* may be compared. Similarly, the interrogativizing suffix *-nə* (Gz. *-nu*) has a parallel in Cushitic, cf. Agaw *-ni* (Kemant). These Cushitic enclitics may, of course, be loans from Ethiopian Semitic and not *vice versa*. With most of these particles that are not straightforward common Semitic like *bä-*, *-m(m)*, etc., one is on rather unsure ground in trying to establish etymologies for individual items, especially where only one consonant, or one consonant plus a vowel, is involved. A more positive statement can, however, be made over the point that enclitic particles marking such syntactic functions as coordination, emphasis, interrogation, etc., are a feature more of Cushitic languages. Whilst the actual forms of such particles in Amharic cannot be readily identified as to origin, the principal behind such particles is surely to be sought amongst the Cushitic languages rather than be attributed to an inherited Semitic development.

5.2. SEPARABLE PARTICLES

ahun 'now'   : Arg. *ahañ*, Har. *axxaˀ*, Gaf. *ahuñ*, Sod. *ahu*, Ch. *äxʷä*, M. *äxuñña*, Sl. *akku*, etc.

Praetorius (1879:262) derived this from the root *kun* 'be': **hakun*, *bäkun* 'im Zustand'. It would be a little difficult, however, to relate all the S. Ethiopian forms to such a derivation; a case could just possibly be made out for a development **bä-kun > ahun* in Amharic, but not so for the others. Cerulli (1936:232, under *aḫa*), on the other hand, prefers a derivation from a Sidamo demonstrative element *ak*, *hak*. The absence of the final *n/ñ* in the Harari and other forms leads one to suspect that it is an added element and not part of the root and, therefore, if this assumption is correct, a derivation from *kun* becomes even more unlikely.

alä ~ *yalä* 'without'   : Arg.Gaf. *alä*, Sod. *yalä*, Z. *balä*, etc.

This is most likely derived from the element *bälä* occurring in Gz. *ˀənbälä*, Te. *ˀəmbäl*, also meaning 'without', rather than from the negative verb prefix *al-*. Compare Ar.Heb. *bal*. In the Zway item *balä* the *b-* would be the preposition and not part of the root; similarly the *y-* in Amh. *yalä* is the preposition *yä-*.

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[29]According to Praetorius (1879:267) the preposition *ə-* is also ultimately from *kä-*: *kä- > hä- > ä- > ə-*. For the Semitic cognates of *kä-* cf. in particular ESA. (Minaean) *k-* 'to, towards, for', (Sabaean) *k-* 'at the time of'.

[30]*yä-* derives from the demonstrative/relative *zä*.

amna 'last year'   :   Arg.Har. *amna*, Gaf. *yaym∂n*, Ch. *emʀa*, Sod. *y∂m∂na*, Z. *amnä*, etc.

Composed of Eth.Sem. *ᶜam* 'year' and an element *-na* also occurring in other time adverbs in S. Ethiopian: Amh. *t∂nant∂nna* 'yesterday', Har. *täčʷ∂na*, *sēstina* 'the day before yesterday'.

∂kko emphatic particle   :   Tna. *ᵓ∂kko ~ -(k)ko*, Gaf. *-ko*; also Gz. *-ke*, Te. *ᵓake*.

Probably to be related with Heb. *ᵓak* 'surely, indeed', but note also the ESA. *-k* severative particle. As with several other particles discussed here, the nucleus is a common Semitic element *k* with various functions. The extensions on this theme, however, remain obscure; Heb. *ᵓak*, ESA. *-k*, and Eth.Sem. *(ᵓa/∂)ko/e* may all be derived from the same original element, but as always in the case of one-radical etymologies, no definite statement can really be made.

∂ndä 'as, like', *∂nd∂-* 'in order to': Arg.Gaf. *∂ndä*.

Praetorius (1879:86) derived this from Gz. *ᵓ∂ntä* 'as'. The etymology is attractive on semantic grounds, but slightly irregular on phonetic grounds, as the development *nt > nd* cannot be established elsewhere in Amharic. Gz. *ᵓ∂ntä* has been connected with Heb. *ᵓẹt* 'with' (Praetorius 1873:643; also Barth 1893:17), and also, less successfully I feel, with Ar. *ᶜinda* 'at, near'. Heb. *ᵓẹt* and Akk. *itti*, which would appear to be cognate, may have developed from **ᵓint-*, or conversely Gz. *ᵓ∂ntä* may be a dissimilation of **ᵓitt-*.

∂nǧa 'I don't know'   :   Gz. *ᵓ∂ndaᶜi*, Tna. *ᵓ∂nd∂ᶜi*.

Amh. *∂nǧa* must derive from a form **ᵓ∂ndiᶜa* to account for the palatalization *d > ǧ*. Gz. *ᵓ∂ndaᶜi* is usually explained as a compound of negative *ᵓ∂n + daᶜi* 'my knowledge' (Sem. √*ydᶜ*).

∂nǧi contrastive particle

Praetorius (1879:85) connected this with the last item, particularly Tna. *ᵓ∂nd∂ᶜi*, which, it is true, could be expected to correspond to an Amharic form *∂nǧi*. However, the exact semantic equivalent of *∂nǧi* in Tigrinya is not *ᵓ∂nd∂ᶜi*, but *ᵓ∂ndo*. Amh. *∂nǧi* is fundamentally an emphasizing, affirmative particle placed at the end of a clause, which may optionally be followed by a contrasting clause. Hence, the function of *∂nǧi* in sentences of the type *tägabäz ∂nǧi* 'do help yourself!' and *t∂ll∂k näw ∂nǧi t∂nn∂š aydoll*ä*m* 'it's big, not small' is esentially the same and agrees semantically very well with a particle occurring in other S. Ethiopian languages, the form of which is entirely compatible with Amh. *∂nǧi*: Har. *hanǧe*, Ch. *ägi*, Gy. *ägiya*, Enn. *akiya*, End. *akkiyä*, etc., all meaning 'indeed' and apparently of Cushitic origin: cf. Kambatta, Tembaro *äkku*. The apparent formal convergence of *∂nǧa* and *∂nǧi* may, therefore, be accidental and the two may not be directly related.

∂skä, *∂sk∂-* 'up to, until' :   Gz. *ᵓ∂skä*, Te. *ᵓas∂k*, Arg. *∂stä*, Gaf. *∂sk∂- ~ ∂šk∂*, etc.

This is almost certainly composed of the same element as the conjunction *s∂-* and the preposition *kä-*. Praetorius (1879:296) suggested a connection between *ᵓ∂s-* and Ar. *haytu*. An immediate connection between the two, however, seems unlikely on phonetic grounds alone. If *haytu* is to be analysed as composed of a separable element *hay + t + u* (see Fleisch (1968:146)) then perhaps the element *t* and Eth.Sem. *ᵓ∂s-* are ultimately related.

əyyä (i) distributive particle, (ii) 'whilst'

These two formally identical but semantically separate particles are most likely to be distinguished from one another etymologically, too. The distributive əyyä is probaly merely a reduplication of yä-, itself from zä, the demonstrative/relative pronoun. The temporal conjunction əyyä, on the other hand, is probably to be connected with Gz. ʾənzä, to which Ar. ʾidā may be compared.

bəčča 'only'   :   Gz. bahtu 'only', bəhut 'alone', Tna. bəhti, Te. bəhət,
                                     Arg. bəčča.

Amharic and Argobba bəčča derive from *bəht + ya. Praetorius (1879:140) explained this as a contraction of Gz. bäʾahatti 'in one'. This seems highly unlikely both on phonetic and structural grounds. Rather Eth.Sem. bht should be compared with Ar. baht 'pure' and ESA. bht of the same meaning.

gən 'but'   :   Tna. gən ~ gəʾən, Arg.Gaf.Go.Sod. gən.

Praetorius (1879:149) derived this from the root wgn (wägän 'side'). However, a similar item occurs in Agaw, Kem. gän, which is, moreover, often combined with the item där (dära 'thing') as därgän. This appears as a loan in Amharic as daru gən, or, with daru translated into Amharic terms, as nägär gən (Tubiana 1970:343-7).

gar(a) 'with'   :   Gaf. gara.

This postposition is probably a loan from Galla gara.

lay 'upon'   :   Gz. laʿlä, Tna. ləʿli, Te. läʿal, Har. läʾay ~ läy, Gaf.
                                     laggä, Sod. lalä, Ch.Go. nän, etc.

The common Eth.Sem. root lʿl is composed of the Semitic prepositional elements l 'to, for' and ʿl 'on'. The palatalization in the Amharic, Harari, and Gafat forms arises from laʿle-, as occurring in Ge'ez before pronoun suffixes.

mäče 'when?'   :   Har. mäči, Arg. mäčče, Gaf.Ch. mäčä, etc.

All derive from *mäte, which Ludolf (1698:13) actually records for Old Amahric. Common Semitic mty. The N. Ethiopian languages use a term of different origin: Gz. maʾze, Tna. mäʾas, Te. mäʾaze.

nä-w 'is'

Functionally this is a verb, but its etymology and features of its inflection betray its origin as a declarative particle. The stem nä-, to which various pronominal endings are added (originally object markers), is common to S. Ethiopian in the function of copula (Hetzron 1972:80). The same pattern, nä + pronoun suffixes, occurs in Ge'ez as a declarative or deictic: nahu 'behold (him)!' (rarer näyo), näyomu 'behold them!', etc. Ethiopian Semitic nä- is related to the common Semitic declarative particle, cf. Ar. ʾinna-, Heb. hinne-.

na 'come'   :   Gz.Te. näʿa, Tna. nəʿa, Har. naʾ.

An irregular imperative of the verb 'to come' occurs in most Cushitic languages, as well as in other Afroasiatic languages. The Eth.Sem. form *näᶜ* , the inflection of which follows the usual imperative pattern (Gz. Sg.m. *näᶜa*, Sg.f. *nəᶜi*, Pl.m. *nəᶜu*, Pl.f. *näᶜa*; Amh. Sg.m. *na*, Sg.f. *näy*, Pl. *nu*), is most probably to be connected with the comparable irregular imperative in most of the Agaw languages: Bil. *ℓaxʷ*, *ℓaxʷa*, Kem. *ℓaĝ*, *ℓaĝa*, etc. It is not possible to say outright which has borrowed from which here, if, indeed, borrowing has taken place. However, in the absence of any formal cognates of Eth.Sem. *näᶜ-* in the rest of Semitic, an Agaw origin would not seem unlikely.

sənt 'how much?'

Arg. *sənt* is the only direct formal cognate, though other Ethiopian Semitic languages exhibit forms which are almost certainly ultimately related to *sənt*: Gz. *ʾəsfəntu*, perhaps derived from interrogative *ʾəf(o)* + *sənt-u*; also Har. *misti*, Sl.Wl.Z. *məst*, Gaf. *əmməstä*, Ms. *əmməst*, perhaps composed of an interrogative *mə-* and *sə(n)t*. The element *sənt* itself would seem to be a primary nominal derivative of the root *wsn* 'limit'. There is no need to assume, as Praetorius (1879:129) does, that Amh. *sənt* is a development of an earlier *ˣ ʾəsfənt*; *sənt* could merely be the noun without any prefixed interrogative.

tač 'below'[31]   :   Gz. *taḥtä*, Tna. *taḥti*, Te. *tähat*, Har. *taḥay*, Gaf. *taččä*,
                                              Ch.Gy. *täte*, Sod. *tatä*, Wl. *tat*, etc.

Common Semitic *tḥt*. The palatalization in Amh. *tač* and elsewhere derives from *taḥte-*, as occurring in Ge'ez before pronoun suffixes.

tənant(ənna) 'yesterday'   :   Gz. *təmaləm* , Tna. *təmali*, Arg. *təmay*, Gaf. *təlam(ənna)*,
                                              Ch.Gy. *təramä*, Go. *tamäñña*, etc.

An alternative form *təlant(ənna)* also occurs in Amharic. Amharic *tənant*, etc., is the only Eth.Sem. form with a suffix *-t*; both *tml* and metathesized *tlm* occur in Ethiopian Semitic. The suffix *-(ən)na* also occurs on *amna* 'last year'. Common Semitic *tml*: cf. Heb. *təmōl* ~ *ʾetmōl*, Aram. *təmāley* ~ *ʾitmāley*, Akk. *timāli* ~ *itimāli*.

wädä 'towards'   :   Gz. *wäʾədä* ~ *wəʾədä* 'next to, by the side of', Arg. *wädä*
                                              'towards'.

This is composed of the conjunction *wä-* and an adverbial accusative of *ʾəd* 'hand'. Similar constructions employing the noun 'hand' occur in other Semitic languages; cf. especially Akk. *ida* 'by the side of', Soq. *ʾid* 'towards, into', Šheri *id*.

wäyəm(m) ~ *wäyəs(s)* 'or'   :   Tna. *wäyəm* ~ *wäy*, Arg. *wem*, Gaf.Ch. *wäy*, Sod. *wäyəš*,
                                              Sl.Z. *we*, etc.

This is derived from something akin to Gz. *wämimmä* used in alternate questions. The form *wämimmä* > *wäyəm(m)* has been analysed as *wäy* + conjunctive enclitic *-m(m)*, hence the substitution of *-s(s)* in some forms, and the dropping of *-m(m)* in others.

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[31]Also *hač* from **kač*, exhibiting the *k/t* interchange found elsewhere in Amharic.

yet 'where?'   :   Gz. *ʾayte*, Tna. *ʾayti*, Te. *ʾaya*, Arg. *yed*, M. *että*, Ch.
                                                           ete. Amh. *yet* and Arg. *yed* must derive from *ʾayt, as
                                                           the Tigrinya form.

The root is the common Semitic interrogative *ʾy*, to which various suffixes are added to
form the interrogative adverb: cf. Ar. *ʾayna*, Heb. *ʾē* ~ *ʾēkā*, Aram. *ʾaykā*, Akk. *ayyānu*.

zare 'today'

This appears to have no cognates elsewhere in Ethiopian Semitic, or in Semitic in general.
Praetorius (1879:57, 169) ingeniously suggested a derivation from a compound of the
demonstrative *zä* + *ʾəbre*(*t*) (Gz. *ʾəbret* 'alternation, turn, period of office') and com-
pared Ar. *al-mutabāriyāni* 'day and night' as a derivative of the same Semitic root, *bry*,
with a specialized temporal sense.   A form like *zäʾəbre could, indeed, develop into Amh.
zare.   The N. Ethiopian languages preserve the common Semitic term for 'day' here: Gz.Te.
yom, Tna. *lomi* ~ *lom*.   Most of the S. Ethiopian languages use items cognate with Amh. *ahun*
'now', except for Har. *hŏgi*, Sl.Wl. *awǧe*, Z. *awǧi*, which may be cognate with Tna. *hǝzi* ~
hǝ̆ǧǧi 'now'.

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